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23 APRIL 1987

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MENTESHASHVILI OUTLINES POSTCONGRESS ROLE OF SOVIETS

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 23 Dec 86) pp 4-11

[Article by T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Soviets of Peoples' Deputies and Acceleration of the Social and Economic Development of the Country"]

[Text] Today the country is concerned with restructuring [perestroyka] and acceleration. The Soviet people see the innovative strategy for acceleration developed by the party as the key to the resolution of all of our problems--in the near term and in the future, economic and social, political and ideological, domestic and foreign. The party's political course of acceleration is warmly supported by the people and is being translated into the language of practical actions. The CPSU Central Committee points out to us that the main thing now is to consolidate what has been achieved, to increase the rate of movement forward, and to be more bold in discarding everything that hinders a turn to qualitative factors and new methods of leadership.

An important role in carrying out of social and economic reforms belongs to the soviets of people's deputies, the political foundation of the USSR and the main link in the socialist self-government of the people. It was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress that they can and must be one of the most important links in the mobilization of the masses for the acceleration of the country's social and economic development.

The entire history of the Soviet state shows convincingly that the soviets always were and remain the subject of the continuous concern of the Communist Party and its unremitting political leadership. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of the Party Leadership of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies" and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures For a Further Increase in the Role and Strengthening of the Responsibility of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies for the Acceleration of Social and Economic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" passed in the summer of last year are new evidence of this. They develop and specify the party line for the further activation of the bodies of popular authority and the renewal of the content and improvement of the forms and methods of

their work and so that they can work more responsibly and more efficiently and make fuller use of their powers.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, notes that much in the realization of these decrees will depend upon the local party authorities. It is necessary to be resolute in doing away with petty control, duplication and substitution of the soviets and not to allow the making of decisions on questions in their competence. This includes a high evaluation of the role of representative bodies of authority in Soviet society and of their great responsibility for the implementation of party policy.

As you know, the contemporary economic policy of the party is the heart of the strategy of acceleration. A most important instrument in putting into effect the party's economic and social policy is the state plan, the right of confirmation of which is granted by the constitution to the soviets of people's deputies. The country's current five-year plan, reviewed and passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in accordance with the aims of the 27th CPSU Congress, occupies a special place in the realization of the strategic course of the CPSU for acceleration. It lays the foundation for the implementation of fundamental qualitative reforms in the national economy.

The first year of the five-year plan has been completed. Having evaluated the path behind us from the position of acceleration and restructuring, the USSR Supreme Soviet recently confirmed the plan for 1987. Today it is already in operation, working and determining the labor rhythm of the country. The party stresses that all efforts must be concentrated on putting it into effect. This is one of the primary tasks of the soviets of people's deputies. Under the leadership of the party authorities, they are carrying on extensive organizational work to involve working people in socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned targets and obligations and for a worthy celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and are supporting and disseminating the valuable initiatives and undertakings of deputies and advanced production workers. At the same time, there are still such local soviets that are slow in getting started and that underestimate their own role in the fulfillment of state tasks. But a plan is law. And the soviets of people's deputies, as agencies of state authority, bear responsibility for seeing to it that the corresponding positions of the law in the territory under their jurisdiction are observed and put into effect. They have no right to give away this high responsibility or to transfer it to someone else.

It is unfortunate that previously, as everyone knows, the widespread practice was for plans to be confirmed by the soviets and corrected indirectly, without their knowledge. Many enterprises and even entire sectors summed up the five-year plan according to the sum of the plans seriously weakened by correction. And in this way, what was obvious became the incredible: it was as if what was not fulfilled had been fulfilled. Such "arithmetic" seriously damaged the national economy and the education of personnel. This approach is now severely condemned. And the soviets of people's deputies must firmly and consistently stand guard over state interests.

Another problem is that the plans broken down by areas were not always sufficiently weighty. The well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers strengthens the means of influence of the local soviets on the formation of regional plans. Now, prior to presenting drafts of annual and five-year plans to higher authorities, enterprises and associations subordinate to the union and the republics are obliged to coordinate them with the executive committees of the corresponding soviets on a wide range of questions involving the development of the social area, construction, public services, the utilization of manpower, etc. In so doing, they must take into account the mandates of voters and the decisions of labor committees on the utilization of the production development fund and the fund for social and cultural measures and housing construction.

The measures now being undertaken to increase the independence and to raise the responsibility of enterprises and associations, in turn, give rise to many forms of interrelationships between the soviets and enterprises and associations under the new conditions of management that are worthy of attention. They make it possible to rely more on economic measures, cost accounting and mutual interests.

Of interest in this connection is the experience of the people in Leningrad, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. Here, with the transition to the new system of work and servicing using progressive equipment, they are simultaneously resolving major technical-economic and social problems.

Meanwhile, of course, this process is not simple. It is linked with a certain change in the existing way of life of individual workers and with a review of the work system of the services sector. It is a matter of more convenient working hours of transportation, schools, kindergartens and health institutions. But at the same time, having done all of this work, the soviets receive in exchange significant material and financial possibilities from the enterprises for the further comprehensive development of their territories. In this way, production benefits, its intensification increases, and new prospects are opened up for the improved satisfaction of the daily needs and interests of the working people.

It is natural that what can be handled by such great industrial centers as Leningrad or Kharkov, where they are carrying out similar work, is more difficult in some other places. Nevertheless, every oblast, city and rayon, proceeding from its own possibilities and conditions, has its own limits of acceleration that they can and must attain. It requires only initiative, creative search and the fervent striving to carry out the decisions of the congress in the best manner possible. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium and Government of the USSR orients to such an approach to the work. Taking into account the numerous proposals from the localities, it more precisely determines the mechanism for the interaction of the soviets with the enterprises and associations subordinate to the union and republics; it extends the coordinating functions of the agencies of state authority to a larger range of questions, strengthens the economic methods of influence and increases the incentive of the soviets to fulfill the plans and

to improve the results of the work of all enterprises and organizations located in their territory.

What are we talking about here? We are saying that the soviets can now unite the means, efforts and possibilities of the enterprises in the resolution of the most diverse problems of a production and social nature on a firm legal foundation for the purpose of resolving tasks in the acceleration and comprehensive development of the economy in their territory. They can, for example, develop the capacities of the construction industry and establish specialized organizations for carrying out the reconstruction and technical retooling of enterprises. The soviets are granted the right to organize the joint construction and operation of facilities in the production infrastructure. They are being given a greater role in the organization and management of intersectoral production, in the efficient use of manpower resources, in the preservation of nature, and in other areas.

The local authorities are also receiving many other possibilities for a rational and efficient approach to economic and social affairs in their territory. But all of this requires great efforts and immediate action. One frequently heard from individual workers of the soviets: "If only they would give us the right...." Many rights have now been granted and it is a matter of realizing them. Unfortunately, we have still not completely eliminated cases in which parasitic attitudes continue to manifest themselves, as do the avoidance of responsibility and the unwillingness to take on additional troubles and worries. They were manifested even after the issuance of the named decree. The overwhelming majority of the soviets designated specific measures to implement it and carried out the necessary organizational and explanatory work. Nevertheless, some workers of the soviets are sluggish, awaiting additional instructions rather than proceeding directly to the work. Such an approach is inadmissible today. The demand of the times and the command of restructuring is to act in an original manner, boldly, vigorously and with good results.

The party sees the greatest meaning in economic development in unswervingly raising the standard of living of the people and in developing the social area. The 27th CPSU Congress assigned priority importance to this sphere. Never before has the question of the decisive turn of the soviets, planning and administrative bodies and all economic managers to the requirements of its development been raised so acutely and on such a large scale.

We need to remember the lessons of the recent past, when the so-called residual principle for the allocation of resources for the development of the material base of the social and cultural sphere was in effect. This could not fail to have an impact on the pace of our development, on economic growth, on the interest of the working people in the results of their labor, on discipline, and on many other aspects of the life of the society. In short, many problems have accumulated here and their resolution is now one of the most important tasks of acceleration.

An important and--without exaggeration--special role in the implementation of the party's social policy belongs to the soviets of people's deputies. There is perhaps no area of their work that to some degree or other is not related

to the serving of people and to the satisfaction of their diverse material and spiritual needs. Housing and education, public health and consumer goods, trade and the services sector, public transport and the preservation of nature are all, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, part of the vital concern of the agencies of state authority.

It is, or course, understandable that the social sphere is not a simple area of work. Here there are many objective and subjective problems. They all demand the increased attention of the soviets as well as an increase in their activeness and responsibility. New approaches and new solutions are needed. Let us take housing questions. They were always at the center of attention of the agencies of state authority but now they have attained a qualitatively new character. The matter has been put as specifically as possible--provide each Soviet family with a separate apartment or individual house by the end of this century. Such a formulation of the task also requires qualitatively new approaches to its resolution. The soviets are called upon to be clear on each inhabited locality as to the time as well as the physical possibilities for the resolution of the housing problem. In so doing, all reserves must be utilized. The role of house-building cooperatives, include youth cooperatives, is increasing significantly. A more active effort is being made to utilize the labor efforts and means of the population as well as the corresponding enterprise funds. A fine example was provided by the collective of the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant, whose initiative was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. It now has hundreds or thousands of followers. The initiative of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant for involving workers in the building of housing and social and cultural facilities during their free time also received widespread support. One can cite other examples. In general, progress has been made but one must not close his eyes to serious shortcomings.

The CPSU Central Committee reviewed the question of the course of the fulfillment of the national economic plans for social and cultural construction in 1986. It was noted that many ministries and departments and soviets of people's deputies did not achieve a fundamental improvement in the construction of facilities of the social and cultural complex, which they continue to treat as a matter of secondary importance. Republics and oblasts were named in which matters are particularly unfavorable. The CPSU Central Committee demanded that exhaustive measures be taken for the unconditional fulfillment of the plan for the introduction of facilities in the entire social complex. This demand is addressed directly to the soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative bodies.

The dependable provision of the country with food is an important integral part of the social program outlined by the party congress. Much has now been made subordinate to this goal. A fundamentally new mechanism of economic relations has been established in the agro-industrial complex. The organization of this clear-cut work requires comprehensive help and support and, when necessary, fair demands on the part of the soviets. It is very important to support and develop new sprouts and not to suffocate them in a cobweb of useless paper and demands.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers obligates the soviets to draw up and confirm consolidated five-year and annual plans for the development of enterprise subsidiary farms and to involve themselves even more actively in horticultural partnerships, gardeners' collectives, private subsidiary plots, and the organization of the building of cooperative enterprises for the procurement and processing of agricultural output.

The party and government assign primary importance to the saturation of the market with high-quality goods and services. A Complex Program was passed for their development. Serious measures were outlined to stimulate the production of consumer goods not only at specialized enterprises but at practically all plants and factories. Innovative and bold approaches have been worked out to solve urgent questions in light industry. Enterprise plans will now be prepared on the basis of agreements with trade. An economic mechanism is being established that ought to force enterprises to compete with each other in the drive for customers. And here a great deal depends upon the soviets and their executive committees, inasmuch as through trade they are called upon to know well the demands of the population and the requirements and needs of the people. Today the local authorities form and confirm consolidated plans for the production of consumer goods and control their fulfillment.

In short, the soviets now have sufficient possibilities that permit them to increase the pace of the production of goods needed by the people. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium analyzed how they are realized in practice through the example of the agencies of state authority in the city of Minsk. Here they have developed and are implementing a clear program of action. Practically all of the city's industrial enterprises have been involved in the production of goods. The reconstruction of plants and factories specializing in the production of consumer goods is in full swing at an up-to-date technical level. Deputies are actively participating in all of this work. They identify reserves, organize the campaign for quality, and help to coordinate the interests of production and trade more closely. The citizens of Minsk as well as others, naturally, have their own problems and shortcomings but what counts is that they have tackled the work energetically and have begun specific work in all directions.

The services sector is in need of the close attention of the soviets. These questions have been put forth by life itself. In many places and especially in rural areas, domestic services are still poorly developed, the range of services is limited, there are delays in the fulfillment of orders, and the quality and standards of services leave something to be desired. This is why the plans outlined for the development of the state sphere of services are so significant. As early as this five-year plan, for example, we will have to provide fully for the needs of the population in the repair and servicing of household equipment, furniture and other objects, at least triple the volume of services in the repair and construction of housing, etc. The assortment of many of these services will become wider and the quality better. Let us say right out that the reserves here are enormous. In the estimation of specialists, domestic services satisfy less than half of the effective demand of the population.

The last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law on individual labor activity. Local agencies of state authority were granted the right to organize different forms of the activity of pensioners, disabled persons, students and other citizens on a cooperative and individual basis in the area of the handicraft industry and domestic and other services organized exclusively on the basis of personal labor. It is a matter of the soviets of people's deputies carrying out the corresponding explanatory and organizational work in putting this law into effect. I would like to stress one other thought. In expanding the sphere of individual labor activity, the Soviet state does not at all mean to open, in a manner of speaking, the gates to "private enterprise." The task, as provided for by the Constitution of the USSR," is for this sphere to serve the interests of our society better and to benefit it more.

An ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium went into effect that is aimed at strengthening the fight against unearned income. The soviets and their agencies are required to carry on daily preventive work so that the ukase can act effectively against those who would like to benefit at the expense of society and at the expense of honest workers. At the same time, the soviets must not allow a shadow to fall on those who are receiving supplementary earnings through honest and legitimate labor.

A large role in the realization of the party's course for the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country belongs to law. As noted in the Political Report to the CPSU Central Committee, our legislation must help even more actively in the introduction of economic methods of management, in the effective control over the measure of labor and consumption, and in putting into effect the principles of social fairness. The restructuring now under way required the standardized regulation of an entire series of relations in many areas of our life.

We have been doing quite a lot in this direction of late. The legislative, organizational and educational measures being carried out under the leadership of the party and aimed at consolidating the legal basis of state and public life as well as socialist discipline, at overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism, and at strengthening the fight against various infringements of the law have received the unanimous support of the people.

As the decree that the CPSU Central Committee recently passed on these questions emphasizes, however, the work to ensure legality and legal order and to preserve the rights and legitimate interests of citizens is still not sufficiently effective and does not fully meet the demands of the time. The task has been set of significantly raising the responsibility of all links of the soviets and their agencies for the strict observance of the laws by state institutions and economic organizations, officials and all citizens and for ensuring the preservation of public order in their own territory.

An important aspect of the matter noted in this party document is the strict observance of the principles of social fairness. The soviets have to deal with many questions in daily life that in one way or another affect the most sensitive aspects of human life. For the distribution of many material and spiritual goods is in their hands. And this requires a weighed and careful

approach, because all unfairness and negligence, even the slightest, is acutely and painfully perceived by the people and has a noticeable effect on their disposition. The soviets are called upon to be continuously concerned that no one violate the legal order established by the state or infringe upon the legitimate rights and interests of citizens and that any manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape or of a heartless attitude toward people be overcome. An important place is assigned to the legal education of the working people and to giving them a profound understanding of the unity of rights and obligations, high civic organization, respect for Soviet laws and rules of socialist communal living, and implacability toward any violations of socialist legality.

The acceleration of the social and economic development of the country is inseparably linked with the improvement of socialist democracy. In consistently carrying out the humanistic principles of Soviet democracy, the CPSU, being the core of the society's political system, is constantly concerned about the further development of democratic principles in the work of the soviets and about the strengthening of ties with the masses.

Objective preconditions have now been established for the further activation of the working masses and for their concerned involvement in the affairs of the state and society. The period we are experiencing is above all one of great change. This is the irreversible nature of restructuring. It is a real turn to the human factor. The overcoming of negative phenomena produced by formalism, disregard for public opinion, and the making of arbitrary decisions by some local managers is an important and necessary condition for the improvement of the practical work of the soviets of people's deputies.

Let us take the Law on Labor Collectives. It was noted at the party congress that many of its provisions are not being utilized sufficiently effectively. The task has been set of fundamentally improving the mechanism for the application of this important legislative act. One must inspire life in it so as to transform the democratic principles incorporated in the law into the practice of everyday work. And the fact that this is very important was shown by sociological surveys of public opinion carried out by scientists and specialists at a number of enterprises, organizations and institutions.

What did they show? A large part of those questioned expresses dissatisfaction with the existing practice of the real participation of the person of labor in the management of the affairs of his own collective. The conservatism of individual economic managers is frequently a serious curb to this work. And some managers themselves do not always give due importance to the participation of the working people in management and consider it a certain "form that must be observed." Clearly, managers are always loaded down with many concerns and tasks but this pretext can in no way be used to justify the fact that at times some of them do not inform the people, do not listen to what they are saying, do not consult with them, and do not involve them in the resolution of vitally important matters. With time, as they say, all of this will act as a boomerang. Life itself leaves behind such short-sighted managers.

A difficult but irreversible process of renovation and broad democratization of our life is now under way everywhere. And it is taking place through the minds and hearts of people. Acceleration is making its way in the complex struggle of the new with the old, backward, stagnant, conservative and obsolete.

Glasnost is attaining extraordinary importance in the work of the soviets as well as in all of our life. It is no accident that the party called the question of its expansion the point of departure in the psychological restructuring of personnel. A law on the press and information is now being prepared in accordance with the principles of the congress. A law is being worked out on a system of national discussion and voting on major questions in the life of the country as well as public discussion of the draft decisions of local soviets.

The party views the soviets as the main link in the socialist self-government of the people. And this means that in this capacity of theirs they must interact even better with other elements of the society's political system--with the trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, other public organizations, and agencies of popular control. At its last session, the USSR Supreme Soviet reviewed the matter of the work of the Committee of People's Control. The preparation and discussion of this question were interesting and the corresponding decree was passed. It is now a matter of putting it into effect. We understand that the specific help of the soviets of people's deputies is very important here as well. It is essential to help the agencies of popular control in the development of a true mass character, in raising work efficiency, and in ensuring broad publicity.

On the other hand, for the soviets to do an even better job of fulfilling their role as the main link in the self-government of the people, we must make fuller and more effective use of our diverse democratic institutions. We are talking about elections, sessions of soviets, reports of executive committees, queries of deputies, voter mandates, publicity or the daily work of the system.

The current order of the day is to eliminate any manifestations of showiness and vain words, inefficiency, formalism and excessive bureaucracy. The final result must be the main guideline and the real output must be the criterion for evaluation.

In the further development of the socialist self-government of the people, an important role is played by the strengthening of the control of the soviets and the entire population over the work of the administrative offices and by the increase in accuracy and efficiency in the work of the state organization as well as the responsibility of officials to the people.

In the decree "On the Further Improvement of the Party Management of the Soviets of Peoples' Deputies," the CPSU Central Committee obligated the party committees to take measures to improve the selection, distribution and education of the personnel of the soviets and to promote to the soviet organization politically mature, competent and enterprising workers with high moral qualities and the ability to work with people. Consideration will be

given to the opinion of the permanent commissions of the soviets and labor collectives in resolving personnel matters as well as in the certification of the workers of the system of soviet agencies.

To a considerable extent, the realization of the foreign-policy strategy worked out at the 27th Congress will depend upon the state of our internal affairs and the ability to resolve economic and social problems successfully and to develop the initiative of the people. Today a flexible and active position in the international arena characterizes the work of the CPSU and Soviet state in the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace and against the nuclear danger and arms race.

The New Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons signed by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi is evidence of the new political thinking corresponding to the contemporary conditions in the nuclear and space age. This is a document of a truly historic scale and importance. The principles and ideas formulated in it express the interests of the entire world community and the hopes and dreams of all peoples striving for a peaceful future for mankind.

The foreign-policy activity of the highest body of state authority in the country is aimed at carrying out well-known Soviet initiatives on questions of disarmament and the strengthening of international security. At the center of attention of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, the foreign affairs committees, and the Parliamentary Group of the USSR are key questions in the international situation, the preservation and deepening of the political dialogue, extensive mutually advantageous cooperation with other countries, and the development of lasting businesslike ties between the parliaments of foreign countries.

The recent Sixth Session adopted an appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," which again confirmed the constructive and radical proposals put forward by the Soviet Union at the time of the summit meeting in Reykjavik. The highest body of Soviet authority, in expressing the will of our entire nation, called on the parliaments and peoples of the world to come forward resolutely in favor of a practical transition to the building of a nuclear-free world and the establishment of dependable security for all states on an equal basis.

At the present time, there is a significant increase in the role of the soviets of all levels in the development not only of parliamentary but also of local ties with foreign countries and above all with the countries of the socialist community. Contacts must be especially extensive in connection with the expansion of international scientific-technical and production cooperation and the establishment of joint enterprises. All of this is called upon to serve in strengthening the cause of peace, in the further improvement of mutual understanding and cooperation among nations, and in the normalization of the international situation.

The soviets are acting in a critical time, the time of a creative and innovative approach to the matter.

The role of the deputy is increasing significantly. Today the elected representatives of the people are guided by the demand of the congress that the rank of deputy is not an honorary privilege but a large and difficult job aimed at ensuring the efficient and fruitful work of the soviet. And each of them faces a serious test before the people and the party on his ability to work in a new way, in the spirit of acceleration and the spirit of restructuring.

Communists are the leading force and spirit behind these processes. They are most often the initiators of many interesting and useful affairs of the soviets, provide an example of a conscientious attitude toward the obligations of deputies and the mandates of their electors as well as other inquiries of working people, and are resolutely fighting against red tape and formalism and for the affirmation of a truly Leninist and Bolshevik style in the work of the agencies of state authority.

The demand of the party and the mandate of the people is not to wait but to act, to achieve significant results in the course of restructuring and in the fulfillment of the major tasks of the new five-year plan, and to be closer to the needs of the people. And the soviets are striving to demonstrate persistence and initiative for a fundamental improvement of their work and an increase in their contribution to the acceleration of the social and economic development of Soviet society.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

GRISHKYAVICHUS DISCUSSES COMMUNISTS' ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 23 Dec 86) pp 29-37

[Article by P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, under the "Restructure Party Work, Renew Its Forms and Methods" rubric: "A Turning to People and a Vital Matter"]

[Text] Increase the Vanguard Role of Communists

Life confirms every day that the process of restructuring and renewal and the acceleration of social and economic development depends directly upon the work of party organizations and the ability to mobilize the working people and to direct their efforts and creative energy to the resolution of the tasks put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress. "To a considerable extent," stressed Comrade M. S. Gorbachev at the June (1986) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "the activity of millions of working people and the scope and depth of national creativity, the decisive force of acceleration, depend upon how party organizations act. We will be able to resolve the tasks put forward by the congress only by putting the individual at the center of party work. The primary meaning of the fundamental restructuring of party work is in the turn toward people."

One can say with complete justification that the republic's party organizations have taken the first steps in this direction. All of their activity is now being concentrated in labor collectives, which, putting it graphically, are the front line in the fight to put party policy and the decisions of its 27th Congress into effect. This is perhaps the main characteristic of the process of renewal of party work now taking place.

In this connection, the increase in the militancy of primary party organizations has attained special importance for us. We have repeatedly been convinced of their inexhaustible possibilities. The communists of the primary party organization of the Lithuanian production association Sigma, for example, were the first in the republic to respond to the initiative of Volga motor vehicle builders to achieve high indicators of scientific-technical progress in the 12th Five-Year Plan and, on this basis, an increase in labor productivity. The enterprise collective obligated itself to increase the production of electronic computer equipment, for the most part fundamentally

new types of it, in the five-year plan by 74.5 percent as opposed to the 68.2 percent under the five-year plan. The party committee and shop party organizations established strict control over the periods and quality of new technical elaborations and over the rapid assimilation of reconstructed and renovated capacities. And this produced results. Labor productivity increased by 13 percent since the beginning of last year and 12.7 percent more commodity output was released. Its quality is irreproachable and contractual obligations for deliveries are being fulfilled completely.

Thus, party members have determined their place in restructuring. And there are many such cases. Purposeful action is being taken, let us say, by the primary party organizations of such leading industrial enterprises of the republic as the production association Vilnius Fuel Equipment Plant imeni 50-letiya SSSR, the Kaunas production association for the wool industry Drobe, the Vilnius plastic products plant Plasta, and many others. Their experience is evidence of the fact that it is precisely in primary party organizations where new methods and approaches in organizational and ideological work are yielding perceptible results.

Many factors determine the militancy and independence of primary party organizations. The main factor is how the collective fulfills the obligations placed on it. At the center of attention of industry communists are tasks in raising the efficiency of public production, in accelerating scientific-technical progress, and in improving the quality of output. The state acceptance of output is being introduced this year at 41 associations and enterprises. Intensive work is under way headed by the party organizations in the collectives. Here there is a technical as well as a technological restructuring of production. But the main thing is the fundamental restructuring of the attitude of each worker toward the matter, whatever position he holds or whatever work he performs. An extremely important concern of the primary party organizations is to establish all necessary conditions for the work of the state acceptance agencies and, at the same time, to increase the role of the enterprise technical control departments and to provide for close interaction between them and others.

In short, the growing pace of restructuring and each new day of our life set more and more new tasks. There is not a single one among them that would not affect a primary party organization. And with each day it is becoming more and more obvious that if the communists in the primary organization are passive and do not know how to organize people and to predispose them for the maximum utilization of all possibilities for production growth and an increase in its efficiency, then there is a failure to fulfill plans and obligations, rush work flourishes, and the quality of output suffers.

This is precisely the situation that had developed at the Vilnius plant imeni 40-letiya Oktyabrya. For a long time here, contractual obligations were not met and the machine tools released were of poor quality. And it was all because the primary party organization was passive in resolving many urgent problems in the work of the collective. Instead of vital organizational work with people in fulfilling the decisions taken, the plant party committee was diverted into holding many meetings and conferences, in which there were long speeches and valuable advice and thoughts on how to get the enterprise going

again but there was not much done specifically for this. Considerable blame in this went to the Novovilnyaskiy Party Raykom, which was in no hurry to come to the aid of communists, limiting itself to a statement of the situation existing in the party organization. And it was only after the intervention of the republic Communist Party Central Committee that matters in the collective began to improve. The process of the normalization of the situation in the party organization could have occurred more rapidly, of course, if the party authorities had not remained indifferent to this process for so long and had taken decisive measures to increase the militancy and aggressiveness of the party organizations.

This is why we began restructuring with the development of the independence and aggressiveness of primary party organizations and the initiative and activity of communists. For it is no secret that until recently the increased attention to primary party organizations on the part of party gorkoms and raykoms as well as the republic Communist Party Central Committee frequently meant patronizing them. This was manifested above all in the excessive imposition of questions from above that should be discussed at party meetings, as the CPSU Central Committee justifiably pointed out to us. The inveterate habit manifested itself of judging the well-being of matters in some party organization or other under the formal criterion: did it discuss the questions recommended by the party gorkoms or raykoms and are there protocols and decisions? And this gave rise to unsystematic campaigns and formalism in party work.

Let us say that a routine economic campaign is approaching, the spring planting, for example. Here the party raykom instructs the discussion of the question of preparations for it in all primary party organizations of the farms without considering whether there is a real need for this.

We have also become reconciled to such a defect as excessive organization in the preparations for the holding of party meetings. Nothing has so paralyzed the initiative and cooled of communists and damaged the free and open exchange of opinions, the businesslike analysis of the real situation, and criticism and self-criticism as has empty ostentation, the advance formulation of lists of speakers, and the editing of their speeches.

We understood that to put an end to formal bureaucratic approaches to matters of internal party life, we need to act energetically and flexibly and to resolve the accumulated problems in a truly new way. We began the restructuring to a businesslike style by trying as quickly as possible to renounce the commotion of meetings, superficial declarations, and blind faith in the power of paper. And as soon as there were fewer empty debates and meetings and less paper, there was more concern with achieving real results and interested and informal contacts with people directly in the primary party organizations and labor collectives and the situation in the party organizations changed noticeably for the better.

There was a change above all in the approach to the examination of the questions in the improvement of economic work that were put forward for discussion by communists. They are now beginning to be examined under the point of view of increasing the responsibility of communists for the situation

in decisive areas of production. Communists present regular reports to their comrades and party references are discussed and confirmed at party meetings. This helps to increase the responsibility of party members to their own organization.

The completed report and election campaign in primary and shop party organizations and party groups, the first such campaign after the 27th CPSU Congress, showed convincingly the increase in the authority and influence of primary party organizations. It essentially took place in a businesslike manner, in an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism. They discussed the urgent questions in the life of the collectives and ways to eliminate everything that is still inhibiting the work. Each party member could make full use of his statutory right to make recommendations and comments. They were generalized immediately after the meetings, after which measures were worked out for their realization.

At the same time, the report and election campaign also revealed conclusively the circumstance that restructuring in party organizations is still taking place unevenly, is encountering difficulties, and at times is just spinning its wheels.

Here, for example, is how the report and election meeting of the shop party organization for the machine operators of Taribu Letuva Kolkhoz in Shyaulyayskiy Rayon went. The report of the secretary of the party organization Yu. Meyzhis was full of edifying appeals: "it is necessary to fight," "to guarantee," "to obligate." At first glance, it gave the impression of high-mindedness, high demands, and criticism. And in reality? One night about 6 months prior to this, a raiding team of activists in the society for sobriety and police workers found the farm's mechanical shops open and inside a group of machine operators was drinking. Kolkhoz chairman A. Shlezhyavichus asserted that those who were drinking will be punished severely and that the proper order has been established in the shops. But at their recent meeting, communists were talking about the same thing: the machine area is still not being closed and drunken drivers are getting behind the wheel and going wherever they want.

And what about communists themselves? Why do they see themselves only as outside observers in the economy? Why did they not take the kolkhoz chairman to account? There can be only one answer here: the role of the primary party organization of the kolkhoz has been diminished and does not meet the demands of the times. And considerable blame in this belongs to the Shyaulyayskiy Raykom, which was not able to increase the militancy of the party organization or its initiative, activeness and high-mindedness and did not see that party committee secretary V. Rudzinskis is, as they say, performing a dance around the manager rather than establishing relations with him on a party basis. And how could the raykom see this if it itself at times allows unscrupulousness in the work? At that same party report and election meeting at Taribu Letuva Kolkhoz, the surname of the young driver A. Bilyunas was mentioned several times. The shop party organization accepted him as candidate for membership in the CPSU. The next day, however, the police arrested him for being drunk behind the wheel. And this was the second time this year, for which, as you know, the violator is supposed to bear criminal responsibility. That same

day, another driver, V. Karpas, got behind the wheel intoxicated. This lamentable history subsequently developed as follows: a criminal case was made against Karpas but Bilyunas was punished only administratively and turned over to the collective for education. The Shyaulyayskiy Raykom and its second secretary A. Neverauskas personally conducted themselves in an unprincipled manner. Neverauskas agreed with the indicated decision of the investigating authorities and left the matter of candidate for CPSU membership A. Bilyunas for review by the primary party organization, which severely reprimanded him with an entry in the party control card. And it was only after a statement by the republic newspaper and the intervention of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee that the party raykom finally involved itself more seriously in the improvement of the situation in the kolkhoz party organization. The raykom bureau freed party committee secretary V. Rudzinskis from his official position and gave strict instructions to raykom second secretary A. Neverauskas.

This fact is evidence that some party workers are still captivated by old concepts and are permitting a lack of principles and liberalism in evaluating the shortcomings and unworthy behavior of communists. We will not tolerate this. For violating Soviet laws, a communist must answer with all strictness to the state and to the party. A most important task of party committees, therefore, is to give an example of high-mindedness and persistently establish in each primary party organization an atmosphere of intolerance toward indifference and inertia, personal immodesty and cases of drunkenness. In party organizations, there cannot be a so-called passiv [as opposed to aktiv], that is, party members who reduce their obligations to the mere payment of members' dues. The independence and aggressiveness of the primary party organizations presupposes above all a high activeness of each communist as a conscientious political warrior of the party. Not a single question in the life and work of the collective ought to be beyond the field of vision of the primary party organization.

Cadres--Organizers of Restructuring in the Sectors Entrusted to Them

The June (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed the tremendous role of local party authorities and their managers in restructuring in all areas of work and in each labor collective as well as in affirming everywhere a new way of thinking and a new style and methods of work. We understand that success is forged through the collective efforts and the active work of all urban and rural communists. But the secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, especially the first secretaries, are called upon to set the tone in the work and to take on the basic load of responsibility for the situation. The main burden of daily cares is on their shoulders. The level of their preparation, practical experience and organizational abilities, the breadth of their horizon and depth of their world view, their feeling for the new, and their ability to turn good intentions into specific practical actions always effect the resolution of any question. Neither should one discount their character traits and profound personal qualities. They also have their impact on the course of practical matters. In approaching the activities of the party gorkoms and raykoms and their primary managers from precisely such positions, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee is working actively to

restructure party work in this extremely important link of the party organization.

Today we are betting on young party managers. It seems that it should not be otherwise in the current stage. For precisely the young are least subject to inertia, adherence to old stereotypes, and obsolete work methods and systems. They are most inclined to innovation, creative search, and bold and nonstandard decisions.

In so doing, of course, we are not retreating from the Leninist requirement on the correct combination of young managers and experienced personnel. We highly value the many years of fruitful official labor of S. Bartkus, first secretary of the Pasvalskiy Raykom and Hero of Socialist Labor; V. Mikuchyauskas, A. Gushchinas, E. Prikhodskis and V. Kubilyus, first secretaries of the Vilnius Gorkom and Ionishkiskiy, Ionavskiy and Kretingskiy party raykoms, respectively; Ch. Sabanskis, former first secretary of Skuodasskiy Raykom, who took the same post in the lagging Telshyayskiy Rayon; and other comrades. A new generation of party leaders who recently took charge of city and rayon party organizations has learned and is learning through their experience. In short, we view the combination of young and experienced secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms as well as, by the way, other personnel as a vital and flexible matter that does not fit into the framework of statistical accounts or some permanently established quantitative relationship. Practical work and results remain the main criterion here.

Last year, in the course of reports and elections, 14 first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, or one-fourth of their total number, were replaced. The overwhelming majority of the replacements are people under 40 years of age. The secretariat and sections of the republic Communist Party Central Committee are paying special attention to the work of the recently elected first secretaries of party committees and are giving them constant help in the work.

Thus, a meeting was held in the middle of last year between Central Committee secretaries and the recently elected first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms. At the meeting, the latter told of their work and of the problems that are arising and listened to recommendations, advice and comments addressed to them. The conversation was unconstrained, frank and useful. We intend to continue such a practice in the future as well. But this, of course, is not the only form of controlling and providing help to the secretaries of party committees. It is becoming a firm practice to have regular excursions of bureau members and Central Committee secretaries to localities, again primarily to those rayons where new comrades recently took charge of party committees.

I recalled a recent mission to Zarasayskiy Rayon. L. Galvyalena, elected first secretary of the raykom a year ago, inherited an unenviable job. The previous raykom leadership's underestimation of political methods in work with people, a disdainful attitude toward the opinion of rank-and-file communists, complacency toward leading personnel, and the formalistic-bureaucratic style of work of rayon organizations and the party raykom itself led to this agricultural rayon being in last place in the republic in basic economic

production indicators. Under these conditions, some comrades were justified in doubting whether the new young first secretary and woman has sufficient political tempering, dedication to principles and firmness of character.

To be sure, little time has passed but one can already draw the absolutely definite conclusion that the new secretary is adequately endowed with the above-mentioned qualities. With the support of the Central Committee, the party raykom has abruptly departed from the beaten path essentially paved only with the good intentions and vain promises of the previous management and has energetically undertaken organizational and political work with people. They have resolutely transferred the center of gravity of the work of the raykom bureau and staff to localities, primary party organizations and labor collectives. They have ceased convoking conferences in the raykom on routine agricultural work and other economic questions. Only half as many decrees are being passed by the party raykom bureau and sent to primary party organizations. In this way, they relieved the raykom staff of office work. At the initiative and following the personal example of the first secretary, the secretaries and raykom section heads spend most of their time at the localities. The members of the raykom bureau are confirmed as propagandists, primarily in lagging kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Particularly apparent, however, are the high principles and objective demands being put on all leading personnel. The reports by communist managers have become a firmly established practice. And they are not carried out formally and not necessarily at the sessions of the raykom bureau but at the meetings of the primary party organizations and labor collectives, where the managers also have to answer for how they are eliminating the shortcomings for which they were previously criticized or punished. Thus, 27 communist managers have already rendered reports this year. They started confirming the references for leading workers initially at party meetings and then at the sessions of the raykom bureau.

And matters in Zarasayskiy Rayon have already started to move off dead center. To be sure, the situation is still difficult in plant growing. A year is not long enough. But the results in animal husbandry are already clear. For the first time in many years, the rayon has begun to fulfill the plans for the sale of livestock production to the state.

Although unevenly and not without difficulties, the restructuring of the style and methods of party work is gaining force in all city and rayon party committees. It is under the continuous and demanding control of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The regular hearing of the reports of leading personnel at the meetings of the Central Committee Bureau and plenums has become an important and effective form of its work; 23 such reports were heard after the April (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The plenums and meetings of the Central Committee Bureau are now being held in a spirit of in-depth and impartial analysis and of frank and unembellished talk. In so doing, all matters are discussed collectively. It has, for example, become the immutable rule to send the draft reports for the republic Communist Party Central Committee or the meetings of the party aktiv to the members of the Central Committee Bureau in advance and then to exchange

opinions in a businesslike manner on the essence of their content and to work out a collective statement of the problems. And the reports themselves do not now end with solemn assertions as in the past but with an appeal to those present to speak out frankly on the nature of the question under discussion and to express their criticism of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, its secretaries, and other republic leaders. We think that a first secretary of a party committee must actually call for criticism of himself and provide an example of self-critical talk on urgent matters. Otherwise, all of his appeals for the development of criticism and self-criticism will remain, as they say, just empty sounds.

We are persistently inculcating this refreshing spirit in the daily practice of the work of party committees.. We are certain that the atmosphere in the primary party organizations and their militancy will depend upon what kind of example the party committee provides. A quintessential party task is to dispose people to frank and critical talk. Unfortunately, not yet all party committees have become profoundly aware of this or appreciate it as they should and not all of them are restructuring their own work with the proper energy and resolve. We became convinced of this, having recently raised in the Central Committee Bureau the question of the work of the Pakruoyskiy Rayon party organization in the fulfillment of the demands of the CPSU Rules on the development of criticism and self-criticism. A check revealed serious shortcomings that showed how tenacious is the old and uncritical attitude of some party raykoms and their secretaries to the situation, the work of personnel, and their own work. Pakruoyskiy Rayon did not fulfill the 11th Five-Year Plan for the production of basic types of agricultural output and has yet to complete its duty to the state in the sale of livestock and poultry, sugar beets and potatoes. And in this situation, after the lessons of truth given by the 27th CPSU Congress and at the plenums and sessions of the raykom bureau as well as at party meetings, complacency continued to manifest itself and the accent was still on the positive aspects of activities, whereas criticism basically amounted merely to the enumeration of negative indicators with no profound analysis of their reasons or indication of specific culprits. There were cases of a liberal attitude toward the poor work of leading personnel and of the transfer of unsuccessful workers from one leading post to another. The Central Committee Bureau sternly warned the rayon managers and I. Chepulis, first secretary of the party raykom, that the strictest measures, even including removal from work, will be taken against them if they do not draw the appropriate conclusions.

To work in the spirit of the time means to assess oneself critically, holding nothing back, and to involve oneself honestly with what truly concerns the Soviet individual. Self-sacrifice, the ability not to give up in the face of difficulties, and the willingness to take risks if necessary and, having experienced failure, not to fall apart but to strive stubbornly for the established goal are those moral qualities that have always distinguished a true leader. These qualities are especially important today and their formation is becoming a most important objective in personnel work, being a main lever in the work of party committees as organs of political leadership. In accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and under the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, the work in this most important sector as well is being intensified in the republic party organization. Just

as in other areas of party work, we are following closely all that is new in the work with personnel in other republic and oblast party organizations, we are critically reevaluating our own practice, and we are seeking new approaches and solutions. I would like to dwell on only a few aspects of this large-scale problem that relate mainly to the training of the high practical and political qualities of leading personnel.

We have always had enterprising and indefatigable people, fervent advocates of what is new, and supporters of the search for bold and nonstandard solutions. Until recently, unfortunately, these "disturbers of the peace," so to speak, did not always find the proper support everywhere, above all because they were not very "comfortable" for those who love to administer and command or for those who have grown fond of the tranquil life, the beaten path, and work under the well-known principle "don't rock the boat." We are resolutely changing the attitude of local party authorities toward these "uncomfortable" people. It seems that it is possible and essential to judge the merits or weaknesses of these authorities by how they relate to responsible, active, enterprising and vigorous economic managers in the party gorkoms or raykoms.

Such "disturbers of the peace" are our best kolkhoz chairmen: Hero of Socialist Labor G. Kretavichyus at Ritu Aushra Kolkhoz in Kedaynskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Labor A. Meylus at Kolkhoz imeni 60-letiya SSSR in Panevezhskiy Rayon, V. Marazas at Zhelzvyale Kolkhoz in Kapsukskiy Rayon, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Yarumbauskas at Sotsialistinis Kyalyas Kolkhoz in Plungeskiy Rayon, director of the Retavskiy Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum I. Yagminas, and others. These people were the pioneers of many good works contributing to the acceleration of the social and economic development of some farm or rayon or other and of the republic as a whole. Their example gives a fresh impulse to economic activity and recharges all leading personnel for a large-scale creative search. But it must be said that such an impact can be truly effective only with the total involved support of local party authorities and the broadest dissemination of the experience of advanced workers. Unfortunately, neither has yet become the unalterable rule in the work of the party committees and economic authorities.

Symptomatic in this connection is a recent event that took place in Prenayskiy Rayon, where kolkhoz chairman P. Aleknavichyus, one of the typical representatives of the so-called disturbers of the peace, has been working for many years. Almost a quarter century ago, as a young man, he took charge of Vishnyunay Kolkhoz, one of the weakest and located on the poorest land. The farm quickly got on its feet and soon became one of the progressive farms. Very valuable traits of P. Aleknavichyus are his rural common sense, independence, managerial sharpness, and his ability to adapt to specific conditions and find the correct solution, and, when he has found it, to rely on people, unite them, lead them and bring the matter to its finish. In 1982, Vishnyunay Kolkhoz was one of the first in the republic to initiate the introduction of the collective contract. People came here from many republic rayons to learn from his experience.

And so at the beginning of last year, P. Aleknavichyus turned to the party raykom with the request that he be entrusted with the management of the lagging Yeznas Kolkhoz, which, after a number of unsuccessful changes of

chairmen, some among the rayon managers began to consider almost hopeless. With what did P. Aleknavichyus begin his new job? With concern about people and getting them interested in the results of their labor. In 6 months, the number of kolkhoz workers increased by almost 100 (through the inhabitants of the city of Yeznas, a former rayon center). The skillful application of the collective contract and cost accounting helped a great deal in attracting personnel. Before another year had passed, the first results were already becoming apparent. There was a jump in the yield of grain crops and the potato harvest was almost the best in the rayon. There was also noticeable progress in livestock production. The new chairman proposed shifting the farm center to Yeznas and undertook its planning and provision with public services....

But the manager also encountered some difficulties basically caused by reasons that the party condemned at the April (1985) Central Committee Plenum and 27th CPSU Congress. At the end of June, an article by P. Aleknavichyus, "How Is a Backward Farm to Get Better?", appeared in the republic newspaper TIYESA. He wrote with great concern about an urgent matter: about possibilities for strengthening the economy of weak farms that are being poorly utilized by the new management agencies of the agro-industrial complex, about the slow restructuring of the activities of partners in that complex who serve kolkhozes and sovkhozes, about the continuing petty control of farms, about administration and command, about the necessity of increasing the role of local soviets in the social development of rural areas, and about a number of other matters worthy of the close attention of Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee], other republic departments, and party, soviet and economic managers of the rayon.

But 2 months pass and there is no response from any of those to whom the criticism was addressed. To be sure, the author of the article sensed a certain reaction: more frequent instructions and caviling on petty matters, direct bureaucratic tricks on the part of some rayon managers, and more inspectors from several republic departments.

It was necessary to intervene decisively. The Central Committee Bureau condemned the incorrect attitude of managers toward the newspaper article and, taking into account the importance of the questions raised, demanded a discussion of the article in the department staffs subjected to criticism, the adoption of effective measures to eliminate shortcomings, and the reporting on this to the editor's office and the republic Communist Party Central Committee.

Responses to the criticism have now been received, the newspaper has published many of them, and it would seem that one can consider the incident to be over. But it gives rise to some serious thoughts, above all about how difficult restructuring is for many of our personnel. Inveterate backward concepts are holding them back and many obsolete instructions set up barriers.

A most important area of restructuring is the dissemination and introduction of advanced experience. As soon as you bring up this subject, you hear from party and economic managers, as a rule, more about its propaganda, about knowledge of progressive enterprises and farms, and about excursions and

seminars. But they often find themselves in a difficult situation when it is a matter of the specific introduction of advanced experience and scientific achievements. Usually, as a justification, there are references to so-called "objective reasons" and to supposedly unequal work conditions. These are nothing other than attempts to hide their own passiveness, lack of initiative, and unwillingness to depart from the accustomed track. Why, for example, in that same Prenayskiy Rayon, have the farms adjacent to Vishnyunay or Yeznas kolkhozes and having better lands been so sluggish and uninterested so far in introducing the same collective contract? It is because their managers were well off without it and neither the party raykom nor the rayon agro-industrial association properly demanded their restructuring, limiting themselves to superficial administration and demands that they fulfill the plans at any price. For this, the Prenayskiy Raykom was subjected to sharp criticism at the Central Committee Bureau in the discussion of the question of the restructuring of the style and methods of its work.

The attitude toward advanced experience makes especially obvious the true attitude of economic personnel, party committees, and ministries and departments toward restructuring. Many managers became accustomed to glorying in one or two progressive collectives and supporting them for show while failing to give due attention to those lagging behind. They did not teach them properly through the experience of the progressive collectives and did not help them to introduce this experience. We are now doubling our attention to correcting these distortions.

The critical reevaluation of the established and search for new forms and methods of party work is more and more profoundly engaging the minds of our party personnel. But one must always remember M.S. Gorbachev's very well-aimed warning not to talk restructuring to death and not to force it into a formal bureaucratic framework.

The main criterion of restructuring is the growing political and production activity of communists and all of our people, the changing manner of their thinking, and the increasing dialectical unity of words and deeds. It is senseless and impossible to express this in some quantitative relationship. The only valid expression of the effectiveness of restructuring is practical acts, the maximum final results, and the acceleration of economic and social development.

* * *

We are only at the beginning of the path that we have to travel and we are firmly convinced that this is the correct path. The first practical results obtained strengthen this conviction of ours. According to last year's results, the volume of the republic's industrial production increased by 5 percent compared with the planned annual increase of 3 percent and 95 percent of this increase was obtained through greater labor productivity. The plan for the sale of output including contract deliveries was 99.8 percent fulfilled.

There was an increase in the yields and gross harvests of grain and potatoes, more fodder was procured, and its quality was improved. For the 69th

anniversary of the Great October, the republic fulfilled the annual plan for the sale of grain, potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables and flax fiber to the state. The productivity of animal husbandry continues to increase.

The efforts of the republic party organization are now concentrated on the elimination of shortcomings and weaknesses, which, unfortunately, still exist, and on the mobilization of all efforts so that the five-year targets are not only fulfilled but overfulfilled. This is the aim of our measures for restructuring in all areas of work.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN CC CRITICIZES WORK OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 3 Feb 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the Moldavian CP Central Committee"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA introduction]

[Text] The Moldavian CP Central Committee Secretariat has examined the results of meetings of party members working in law enforcement organs, held to discuss the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Consolidating Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens".

The document approved as a result makes note that, during December and January, open meetings of communists working in law enforcement organs were held in the republic's cities and rayons, at which the tasks stemming from the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Consolidating Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens" were discussed. The secretaries of city and rayon party committees presented reports. Bureau secretaries and members, responsible workers of the Moldavian CP Central Committee apparatus, and directors and collegium members of the Moldavian SSR ministries of internal affairs and justice, the Procuracy, and the Supreme Court, along with the chairmen of the soviet executive committees of city rayons took part in the work of the meetings.

The meetings in Kishinev and Beltsy, and in the Dondyushanskiy, Slobodzeyskiy, Floreshtskiy, Grigoriopolskiy, Chernenkovskiy, and Novoanenskiy rayons were held in a businesslike atmosphere, in a spirit of self-criticism, and with great party-member activism and interest in establishing needed order. This was predestined by comprehensive and thorough preparations for the meetings, by detailed analysis of the state of affairs, and by the well-conceived and substantive addresses, which focused attention on the importance of the further democratization of the life of society to the business of accelerating the country's social and economic development, which brought to light specific examples, forms and methods of work by law enforcement organs and party organizations that have had positive results in the struggle against law violations, unearned incomes, drunkenness, and drug use, and which pointedly identified existing shortcomings, the reasons behind them, and ways for overcoming negative phenomena that have built up. It was emphasized that we

have not been successful in achieving a fundamental turning point in work to consolidate socialist legality. Formalism, mechanical performance of duty and a low level of professionalism are often evident in the activity of militia and procuracy workers.

At the meetings of party members held in Faleshtskiy, Yedinetskiy, Floreshtskiy, Tarakliyskiy, Komratskiy and other rayons, attention was turned to the weak role being played by voluntary organizations in consolidating socialist legality and law and order, to unsatisfactory compliance with the USSR Law on Labor Collectives in local areas, and to the insufficient level of cooperation by law enforcement organs with local soviets of people's deputies, schools, and families. The basic reasons for violations of the law include weak control to ensure protection of state property, unsatisfactory work with adolescents, insufficient attention to crime-prevention measures, and the legal illiteracy and ignorance of a large part of the population, including young people. The need to organize legal training of economic managers was stressed in particular.

The party members of law enforcement organs in Kishinev, Bender and Sorokskiy Rayon expressed the thought that party organizations and labor collectives of enterprises, organizations, institutions and educational institutions must also concern themselves more actively and purposefully with strengthening socialist legality and with eradicating and preventing crime. In the course of the on-going restructuring process, it is necessary to inculcate a legal consciousness in people, a feeling that they are the masters of their collective, rayon, city, and country.

It was pointed out that, in many cities and rayons, there are deficiencies in the work of the procuracy in organizing and coordinating activities aimed at combatting crime and its prevention and that there is a lack of needed procuracy oversight with regard to the legality of activities of local soviet executive committees, state and economic organs, individual officials, and the law enforcement organs themselves, which sometimes results in gross violations of the legal interest and rights of citizens.

It was noted that deception and fraud would not have assumed the character of a social epidemic within the republic, if every communist working in the law enforcement organs were more principled and demanding of himself. Many of these organs are operating in isolation of the economic and supervisory services, are weak in carrying out preventive work, and are making insufficient use of measures afforded them by the law with respect to criminal responsibility for padding state reports and distorting data. This was commented on severely at the meetings of party members in Dnistrovskiy, Frunzenskiy, Kaushanskiy, and Bulkaneshtskiy rayons and in the cities of Beltsy and Bendery.

Serious complaints were levied against the services for combatting the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation (BKhSS) and for criminal investigation, the State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration (GAI), the investigation departments, and the divisional inspectors, particularly of the Slobodzeyskiy, Orgeyevskiy, Faleshtskiy, and Kalarashskiy rayon departments of internal affairs. The working style of these services remains as before:

Cases of large-scale embezzlement are going undiscovered and they are not waging an active struggle against bribe-taking and speculation. As a result of the low number of crimes being detected, the people committing them are not being exposed, which violates the principle of inevitable punishment for crimes that are committed. There continue to be cases when crimes are not being recorded.

At meetings in Ryshkanskiy, Ungenskiy, Kriulyanskiy and other rayons, great concern was expressed in connection with the high accident rate in transportation and the poor results of the preventive work that is being carried out, particularly with regard to eliminating cases of motor vehicle operation while intoxicated.

The quality of investigations and inquiries is also low. In Chimishliyskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Frunzenskiy, Kotovskiy, Rybinskiy, Teleneshtskiy and other rayons, attention was given to the unnecessary red tape involved in the investigation and examination of cases and to cases where people are being illegally detained, arrested and subjected to criminal prosecution.

Unsatisfactory compliance with legislation dealing with religious cults was noted. For example, various sectarian associations, including unregistered ones, are operating in 23 communities within Tarakliyskiy Rayon. Children, as well, are attending prayer meetings. However, these conscious violators of the law are not being called to account.

Serious shortcomings persist in the struggle against malingering. In Ryshkanskiy Rayon alone during the past year, more than 500 persons did not work even a single day and 5,000 persons failed to work the minimum prescribed number of days. At the same time, measures of punishment envisaged by the law were not applied to them.

The speakers at the meetings raised instances of violation of socialist legality. To a large extent, these were a result of weak selection, assignment and training of the personnel of law enforcement organs, their low general and legal standards, and their insufficient theoretical and legal preparation. Cases are frequent when the law is violated by the very officials who are charged with defending it. During the past two years, 16 persons were fired from the Rezinskiy Rayon department of internal affairs alone for committing crimes, of whom 8 were members of the CPSU and a like number were members of the Komsomol. Rudeness in dealings with people, violations of established rules for treating citizens, a superficial approach to consideration of complaints and requests, and mistakes in court decisions and sentences have not died out. Visiting circuit court proceedings are not always fulfilling their prophylactic purpose.

An extremely unfavorable atmosphere has developed within the law enforcement organs of a number of cities and rayons during recent years, but party and soviet organs are not taking steps to improve this.

An alarming situation has been created in certain people's courts. Back in June 1984, the Ministry of Justice passed a decision to remove the chairman of the Okintsa people's court, V.S. Markarenko, from his post for serious

negligence in the organization of his work, but he is still working right up until today. In 1986, 40 percent of the criminal cases here were not examined within stipulated time limits. Hearings of some cases are being postponed for farfetched reasons, sometimes for years.

Shortcomings exist with regard to the imposition of sentences. Guilty persons are being given light punishments, including for serious crimes. Added sentences are not being meted out in necessary cases.

Extremely crude violations of socialist legality with regard to enforced treatment for alcoholism have been uncovered in the Beltsy city court's handling of criminal and administrative cases. Forty percent of this court's decisions to carry out further inquiries have been cancelled because they were illegal. In a number of cases, there was no need for imposition of a sentence involving deprivation of freedom.

The situation of irresponsibility, confusion, falsification of information, and lack of control over the work of subordinates, which developed at the Kriulyanskiy Rayon people's court, resulted, in 1985, in criminal charges being brought against the senior bailiff, Kolosov, for theft of cash funds, and a bailiff, Chobanu, for taking bribes. Despite the demands of investigative organs, the office manager, Yakub, who was guilty in 1986 of forging official documents, has not been removed from work.

In June 1986, the chairman of this court, A.M. Yerkhan was given a stiff reprimand in the rayon party committee buro for permitting gross violations of legality, but drew no conclusions from this. In November 1986, he reviewed 10 civil cases without the participation of people's assessors and without protocols of the court sessions and, subsequently, to cover this up, forged official documents.

The violations of socialist legality in the activities of the people's courts, which we have described here, became possible as a result of a lack of necessary supervision and insufficient demands being placed by the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Justice.

As the participants in the meetings noted, many shortcomings are explained by the inadequate work of Ministry of Internal Affairs political organs, which have still not fully defined their own role, place and destiny in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution. They have lost sight of such important problems as increasing the independence and responsibility of the organs and combatting the suppression of criticism.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has stressed the importance of study, generalization and control for implementing the critical observations and proposals which speakers at the meetings addressed to rayon, party, soviet, and higher-up law enforcement organs. Intense attention deserves to be given to the extremely critical observations and recommendations made with regard to staff composition of these organs and strengthening their personnel, to ensure that they have necessary funds, to implement the practice of joint meetings of communists working in law enforcement organs, to increase the influence that city and rayon party committees have on political education work among the

employees of these collectives, to more objective understanding of their problems, and to coordination of the activities of party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs.

City and rayon party committees have been directed to assume uninterrupted supervision of how the resolutions passed and measures taken by the party meetings with regard to this question are being carried out and to periodically review the status of work being done to implement the CPSU Central Committee resolution. Primary party organizations are to be given an increased role and responsibility in contributing to the realization of restructuring and elimination of the shortcomings that have been noted, and a system is to be developed to require that, without exception, all party members, particularly communists in management positions, fulfill the demands of the party.

The Moldavian SSR ministries of justice and internal affairs, the Supreme Court, the Procuracy, and the State Board of Arbitration have been asked to provide continuing practical help to subordinate organizations in intensifying work to strengthen socialist legality and law and order, taking account of the proposals and observations made at the meetings of the party members of law enforcement organs.

It would be expedient, by 15 February, to hold joint meetings of communists working on the staffs of city rayon soviet executive committees, rayon agro-industrial associations, and the government organizations of the cities and rayons, in order to examine the question of raising the vanguard role of communist party members in carrying out the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Strengthening Socialist Legality and Law and Order and Strengthening Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens". It has been recommended that the secretaries of city and rayon party committees address these meetings.

All work to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution should proceed under conditions of broad openness [glasnost], with active utilization of the mass information and propaganda media.

13032
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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM EXAMINES WORK OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Dec 86 p 3

[Article: "At the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The meeting of the Plenum of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet held on 25 December discussed the question of the work of the Soviets of Peoples Deputies in Navoy Oblast to implement measures aimed at strengthening the family and increasing its responsibility in rearing children. It was noted that the measures adopted by the CPSU and Soviet State have made it possible to step up the work of local Soviets to strengthen the family and improve the upbringing of the adolescent generation. The provision of state aid to families with many children and to single mothers has improved significantly, public health, municipal-residential, and cultural-domestic construction are developing further, and new rituals and traditions and other forms of work are being introduced.

At the same time, concern for all-out strengthening of the family and helping it raise children still has not become a matter of paramount state importance for many Soviet and economic organs, labor collectives, and public organizations. Local Soviets are not properly analyzing the causes of trouble in certain families and are not being more demanding with parents who are not working to bring their children up well. The campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism is not being waged with sufficient vigor. More attention should be given to the questions of the life of rural families, where the influence of religious prejudices and vestiges has not been completely eradicated.

Having noted that the work being done in this matter is inadequate, the Presidium ordered the Soviets of Peoples Deputies of Navoy Oblast and their executive committees to take effective steps to eliminate the shortcomings and significantly improve work in this area. Corresponding instructions were given to a number of republic ministries and departments.

The work of the Andizhan city Soviet of Peoples Deputies to develop the initiative, creative searching, and socialist enterprise of management personnel in conditions where the enterprises are switching to new forms of economic activity was reviewed. It was noted that the city Soviet, its executive committee, and its departments and administrations still have not clearly defined their role in work with managers and are not directing them to search for effective ways to capitalize on the opportunities that are arising in the process of restructuring the economic mechanism; they approach analysis of the state of affairs

in the economy using old measuring sticks. The questions of accelerating scientific-technical progress and strengthening cost accounting are not reviewed well at meetings of the city Soviet, executive committee, and standing committees and the decisions adopted do not disclose the causes of existing shortcomings and ways to eliminate them. The practice of using deputy queries is not being refined and the deputy groups take little part in the campaign for quality goods and for economy and thrift.

Development of the initiative of working people is being held back by unsatisfactory fulfillment of party and government decisions on democratization of management of labor collectives. At general meetings draft plans are not discussed and reports by brigade leaders, shop, section, and shift heads, and managers of organizations are not heard. Many initiatives from below do not receive management support. The city's production potential is not used efficiently because of inadequate attention given to the key problems of the economy and the social sphere.

Recognizing the work of the Andizhan city Soviet on this matter as unsatisfactory, the Presidium ordered the city executive committee to take concrete steps to eliminate the shortcomings, instill management personnel, deputies, and people working at the Soviets with an innovative approach to the work, initiative, creative searching, and socialist enterprise, and step up work to seek out and introduce reserves to accelerate socioeconomic development.

The question of the work of Glavtashkentstroy to monitor fulfillment of the law on the campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism at subordinate enterprises and organizations was reviewed. The decree adopted notes that there are real shortcomings in the activities of the main administration and its managers in this area and that the campaign against drunkenness has not taken on the necessary scope and aggressiveness there. Glavtashkentstroy was ordered to develop and introduce comprehensive organizational, administrative-legal, and indoctrinal measures immediately and exercise rigorous control over strict performance of anti-alcohol law in its subordinate enterprises and organizations. Corresponding orders were given to the Tashkent city executive committee and a number of republic ministries and departments.

A plan for the basic measures to be conducted in the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR in 1987 was approved at the meeting.

Other questions of state affairs in the republic were also considered at the meeting and appropriate decisions were made on them.

11176
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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

ZNANIYE SOCIETY PLENUM NOTES INERTIA, FORMALISM IN UZBEK WORK

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Dec 86 p 3

[Article: "For the Hearts and Minds of People"]

[Text] The 10th Plenum of the Znaniye Society discussed the tasks that follow from the decisions of the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party and the 12 November 1986 decree of the buro of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party.

The participants in the plenum had to formulate their basic positions and become fully aware of the importance of the social mandate given by the party to public work volunteers and fighters on the ideological front. It was natural, therefore, that there was rigorous critical analysis of mistakes that have been made. This was heard in the report of I. I. Iskanderov, chairman of the board of directors of the Znaniye Society. For many years the work style of the society has been characterized by inertia, formalism, and ideological passivism. This made it difficult, even after the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party had disclosed negative phenomena in the republic, to direct the propaganda might of the large group of scientists and lecturers to explain the situation that had developed in the republic and to root out shortcomings. Even after the 27th Congress propaganda for its decisions was carried on in a formalistic, stereotyped manner. The quantitative approach, relying on number of lectures to the detriment of their quality, produced bitter fruit. False data in the reports of many primary city and oblast Znaniye societies caused not only material, but also moral and ideological harm.

The 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party pointed out that ideological work was divorced from the real, practical problems of life. Few lectures are given on the problems of philosophy, scientific communism, the state and the law, and legal propaganda. Lecture propaganda is being restructured too slowly.

The examples cited at the plenum do not give a pretty picture: only four lecturers in the whole last year devoted their statements to criticism of bourgeois ideology. Cases that indicate a growth of religious feeling in Navoy, Bukhara, Kashkadarya, Namangan, and other oblasts are directly linked to the poor state of atheistic propaganda. The organizational innovation of

transferring the section for propaganda of atheist knowledge and indoctrination directly to the Republic House of Scientific Atheism did not work out. Along with the authority and functions of Znaniye Society members the new department inherited their inertia and lack of initiative. But what is required today is heightened citizen and party responsibility for the ideological situation taking shape in the republic, where the slanderous attacks of our ideological enemies appeal to religious and nationalistic attitudes among the local populace for the purposes of undermining friendship among peoples and drawing people away from active, creative work.

We can no longer tolerate the passive posture of the large group of scientists at the republic Academy of Sciences, VUZes, and scientific research institutes in the matter of lecture propaganda. For example, only 10 percent of the scientists and teachers at Nukus State University and the Karakalpak branch of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences take part in lecture propaganda. Constructive proposals were made at the plenum to restructure the subdivisions of the Znaniye Society, which ultimately will insure that scientists, leading philosophers, and qualified specialists appear in labor collectives and at remote farms in the republic where the propagandist's spoken word is especially needed.

At the present time, however, as a check by the All-Union Znaniye Society showed, lectures are given according to old outlines which do not include today's problems and the breath of contemporary life. The Samarkand Znaniye Society, for example, has a large number of scientists, but they very rarely give lectures on problems of atheism, the anti-alcohol struggle, and the fight against non-labor income.

The propaganda effectiveness of the 6,000 members of the Bukhara Oblast Znaniye Society is practically nil: in numerous collectives and organizations no lectures at all have been given this year.

A significant shortcoming is the fact that certification of lecturers in the republic is done in a plodding, formalistic manner on a low ideological and methodological level. This fails to stimulate work and creative searching by lecturers and makes it harder to identify a lecturer's incompetence and inability to think creatively and control the audience.

As participants at the plenum observed, formalism is the principal enemy of creative propaganda work. The only thing to do against it today is to retreat from the stereotyped actions and bureaucratism that has taken hold both in the management of the Znaniye Society and in the search for new forms of work. We must significantly restructure the system for planning lecture propaganda and assimilate and disseminate to a wide audience the experience of the best primary, city, and oblast organizations of the Znaniye Society in our republic and elsewhere. We must focus more attention on the activities of peoples universities, refine scientific methods work and publishing, and strengthen financial-accounting discipline. There are major problems to be solved in training lecturers and improving their qualifications.

This is a time of major changes in all spheres of life. Each day saturates the atmosphere of our everyday affairs with critical responsibility for the fate of

restructuring. Many party and government decrees have been adopted to develop the ideas and decisions of the 27th Congress, and now they must be poured forth in the passionate, challenging words of the propagandists, who are leading the fight for the hearts and minds of people.

"All of our plans," M. S. Gorbachev noted, "will be left hanging in the air if they leave people indifferent, if we are unable to awaken the labor and public activism of the masses, their energy and initiative." Society members and its board of directors must become permeated with a profound sense of responsibility for their own contribution to activating the human factor.

The plenum reviewed organizational matters. As already reported, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party expelled U. A. Abdurazzakov, first deputy chairman of the Znaniye Society board of directors, from the party and removed him from his post for serious shortcomings in his work. Other members of the board of directors were also punished. The plenum removed U. A. Abdurazzakov and I. V. Volodin, deputy chairman of the board, from the board of directors. S. S. Saidkasimov was elected first deputy chairman of the board of directors of the UzSSR Znaniye Society, V. P. Ponomarev was elected deputy chairman, and Kh. U. Zufarev was elected learned secretary.

V. Ye. Semichaistnyy, deputy chairman of the board of directors of the All-Union Znaniye Society, and S. K. Kurbonov, head of the department of propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the UzSSR Communist Party, spoke at the plenum.

Dates were set for conducting report-election meetings in society organizations. It was decided to convoke the 10th Congress of the UzSSR Znaniye Society in April 1987.

11176
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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

KOLBIN ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON MEDIA'S ROLE IN RESTRUCTURING

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 p 3

[Speech by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of Kazakh CP Central Committee, at Seventh Kazakh Journalists Congress]

[Text] Great concern was expressed at the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum at the extent to which all our personnel recognized the need for revolutionary changes and were passing the test of restructuring. Each passes this examination in his own way. True champions of change and those who are continuing to live, think and act in the old way are to be found in one and the same field. A visible gap has formed between those who have emphatically moved forward and those who are at a standstill. The latter are depriving themselves of any real prospects other than those of personal catastrophe. But there are also those who for the sake of their own advantage are darting from right to left if only to crawl ahead once again.

The propaganda and dissemination of what is new and also efforts to surmount these shortcomings demand active positions from the mass media and the people who work for them.

The speeches which we have heard at the congress testify that this has been a discussion of people who recognize that they perform an exceptionally responsible role under current conditions. Now, when all around are expecting justice, action and honest, open behavior, it is impossible to chew on the old cud and become absorbed in blithe complacency. What is important now is not a simple recounting of shortcomings but considered measures and practical approaches to a solution of this problem or the other.

The fact that for many years executives were not properly held to account for the timely solution of social questions has left a serious mark on their approaches to work. And this demands emphatic rectification and a change in the current situation. Without the firm position of the party committees and their press organs, radio and television, this will be difficult. How does one tackle this urgent task?

A most complex, acute problem is that of housing. In our republic it has long been managed without an in-depth analysis of the ongoing processes: we have not troubled ourselves unduly with a study of the state of affairs and a

determination of trends. But there is a trend in the solution of the housing problem which, it is ascertained, has for many years been growing universally and intensifying with every passing year. The numbers of those wishing to obtain housing has grown, but the rate of satisfaction of the need therefore and progress on the waiting list have remained as before and at times decelerated. The large amount of resources allocated for solution of the housing problem has been spent and continues to be spent as yet on the construction of "efficiencies" and hostels, that is, accommodation which is allocated in circumvention of the waiting list.

Elementary fairness in the allocation of housing has been violated at every step. Permissiveness and the principle of connections and favoritism have imbued this sphere particularly deeply.

Merely a random check conducted by the Kazakh CP Central Committee in Alma-Ata turned up tens and hundreds of apartments registered in flagrant violation of the housing laws. These abuses had been permitted mainly by executives.

Those at whom complaints are now being leveled on this score are reiterating word for word at every step that this was the rule of conduct for all and that they were forced into this by some people at the top. The question arises here: who established such a rule of conduct, why did it become widespread? After all, favoritism in questions of the allocation of housing had long been condemned and was being cut short in every possible way, particularly since the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

Favoritism is a moral-legal misdemeanor before society, but not only this. It is frequently also a criminal offense since it is not disinterested. For favoritism people look for money, gifts and sometimes simply the eulogy of a person for other than his merits and the creation of false authority for him in the eyes of the community. Favoritism is an evil which needs to be eradicated, in whatever sphere it is manifested. It is necessary to create an atmosphere of intolerance both in respect of those who employ it for mercenary ends and those who avail themselves of services. The direct executive must be held responsible for favoritism, regardless of who advised him in this respect. After all, a criminal bears the full responsibility for a murder, even if he was pushed into this or provoked by someone. References to various authorities by someone who has committed a crime are pointless. Whoever perpetrates an unlawful action must be held fully responsible for it.

Now, when the approaches to a solution of the housing problem have been clearly defined, the sources of financing and material-technical supply have been recommended and the press has published these approaches and the demands made on the organization of this business, we are encountering the phenomena of executives, with the connivance of the party and, particularly, labor union authorities, being in no hurry to open the way to changes and continuing merely to discuss and approve the recommendations and demands. Many people are as yet failing to take practical steps in the solution of the problem--providing accommodation within 5 years for all citizens on the list as of 1 January of this year, and in rural localities, building annually no less than 20 well-appointed apartments on each farm.

Some people are expecting to begin tackling this task somewhat later, at the end or per the results of the 5-year plan, while today, they say, they can continue to live the former easy life. The narrowness of thinking in this case of such executives also means narrowness of action. They are little or not at all disturbed by the fact that acquiring housing has for many people been a problem they have had for 20 years and more and sometimes their whole life. And, unfortunately, the majority of executives as yet remains beyond any responsibility for such moss-covered thinking and amoral modus operandi. Not one of them has yet been retired.

This is how they are continuing to live, and the press is not disturbing them. It was said long since that all mass media should introduce the special "Housing-91" column. It has been introduced, and articles are published, but not daily, not regularly but only following a conference on housing issues. And if there is no conference, there are no articles.

As if journalists do not know the addresses at which there has been absolutely no movement in the solution of the housing problem. As if journalists do not know that it has long been time to bring forth by name into the broad daylight the grandees who have taken a firm grip of their armchairs, secretaries, drivers and official cars, thinking only about the fate of their fraudulent career and remaining deaf to the voice of the people's heart. As if journalists do not know that it is necessary to disseminate positive experience extensively and all that is best that has been born of practice and is in need of support.

Let us say plainly that the harsh truth is that although many republic and oblast papers have acquired an interested, active mass readership (mainly for the material carried on the front pages), journalists are not keeping pace with the restructuring, and the party committees are not receiving due journalistic support.

I believe that the masters of the pen and the screen must sense the difference between what has been done and what they could be doing and should be pondering their personal contribution to the recent enhancement of newspapers' social prestige.

The press should be involved in the organization of good works. The press is an organizer and generator of ideas, the press is a source of inspiration in the name of achievement of the desired result. The press is a fighter, the press is a conqueror.

Now, under the conditions of the expanding democratization of all aspects of our life, no journalist may consider himself satisfied if he remains silent and fails to influence the state of affairs in the solution of only one problem, just as he will not be able to erect a monument to himself of metal merely with the highest and most bombastic words.

Take such an issue as the allocation of housing. It has been said that there should be openness and complete clarity in the allocation of each apartment house. It should be explained who has been given an apartment in circumvention of the waiting list and why. However, the press has not provided a single

example as yet of a publication on the open allocation of housing and the ceremonial issuance of authorization. What is this? A passive position or a lack of opportunities for restructuring? The press also must restructure itself and illustrate the weak spots set forth in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum.

The struggle for man's fidelity to high ideals, the struggle for fairness and its daily and universal affirmation should be sensed by all working people and the entire population of our vast republic. And in this connection the mass media are obliged to see, find and feel the pulse of life and affirm social justice.

The confiscation of a variety of residences, hunting lodges, boarding houses and guest apartments in apartment houses designed for the reception of high-ranking persons which were previously hidden for years from the public eye is under way currently. All these well-equipped facilities are being transferred to children's and medical establishments, war and labor invalids and large worker families.

In this connection people working in television and on newspapers have been asked repeatedly to reveal the progress of the transfer of these confiscated facilities. And, of course, it is important to show the interiors, the finishing and the equipment of all these residences and hotels reserved not in respect of rank and not in respect of the law and services for a narrow circle of executives.

Why is this necessary? To annoy some people out of spite or to solve in this way some other problem? The latter, of course. Now, when the question of an executive's modesty arises increasingly insistently, we are obliged to reveal seriously and critically any immodesty and aspiration to turn the authority given people to their own advantage and use it for personal interests. We must also reveal the proportions which immodesty may assume under the conditions of a lack of supervision, when, as in a chain reaction, executives of various levels, from the upper republic echelon, "having excused themselves," join hands so that others will be held accountable. After all, they know that this is immodest, that people will condemn them. Thus they have concealed their immodesty as far from the public eye as possible and made all this a matter of intimacy.

You, comrades, must yourselves understand how essential it is to speed up the transfer of private houses in the name of public interests. It is necessary for the growth in people of the frame of mind and understanding that a restructuring is under way in all spheres and that it corresponds to the evaluations and requirements which were determined in the decisions of the Central Committee January Plenum. That restructuring means a decisive surmounting of stagnant processes, elimination of the mechanism of deceleration and reverse motion even and the creation of a dependable and efficient mechanism of an acceleration of our society's socioeconomic development. That restructuring means reliance on the vital creativity of the masses, the all-around development of democracy and socialist self-management, the encouragement of initiative and independence and a strengthening of discipline and order. That restructuring means an unswerving rise in the role

of intensive factors of the development of the Soviet economy, the restoration and development in the management of the economy of Leninist principles of democratic centralism, the universal application of economic methods of management, a renunciation of command and administrative management and the incorporation of people of all levels, the mass occupations included, in the management of social and economic problems. The inclusion of a broad range of people in the transformation should be brought about primarily by a real tangible affirmation of justice and an abrupt increase in the pace of the solution of all social problems: these being problems of housing, food supply, the development of collective horticulture and many others. Only a pronounced stimulation of work in this direction will bring about a surge of efforts in a broad range of working people and all citizens.

Restructuring with a capital letter, restructuring as a way of thinking, as a modus operandi, as our lifestyle cannot be confined merely to talk about it because this would contribute merely to a consolidation of the former stagnant situation.

The passive position of people working in journalism in the development of socialist democracy is giving rise to many questions, thoughts and reflections. And I would very much like members of the creative Journalists Union, the representatives of the special, ideological, front, at today's congress to understand fully their crucial role in the organization of work on the restructuring that has begun since the Central Committee April Plenum and perform it not formally but creatively.

We often say "creatively," implying here a certain inventiveness and skill in achieving the intelligibility and persuasiveness of relevant material. We know that the capabilities and gifts of each individual vary, and for this reason it is no shame to orient ourselves toward the craftsmen of the pen and domestic advocacy journalism which are, as before, an example and model.

We would recall an outstanding representative of Soviet journalism--Anatoliy Agranovskiy--how he was able aptly and intelligibly to expound thoughts which hit the target accurately, were always objective in the extreme and had a timely 100-percent impact. Here is one of his thoughts: "A cat was appointed to catch mice, but, per the staff schedule, was registered as a tiger. The cat is catching the mice. He is coping. But they are unsatisfied with it: 'He is not drawn toward tigers.'"

One reads such things, and the thought immediately suggests itself: how many such "cats," who not only are not drawn toward "tigers" but who do not even catch mice and who do no business at all, do we have. And these people are where they are not because the people spotted their talents and asked them to head the outfit but frequently because they were related to the "tigers".

How many of them have been removed from office, particularly recently. This has been extensively illustrated in the press, and there is no need to repeat it, but all this is a rewriting of information and party decisions and not the result of the fighting measures of this journalist or the other.

Our republic journalists' aktiv contains names of great public, journalistic resonance and authority. Abibula Akhmetov, Grigoriy Dildyayev, Nadezhda Garifullina, Artur Melnikov, Iosif Budnevich and many others.

Returning to the talent of A. Agranovskiy, it may be noted that he not only found the most pressing problems but studied them in depth and adroitly, intelligibly and reliably expounded them for a wide circle of readers. He did not confine himself merely to the publication of material but literally fought for the continued progress of the accomplishment of a difficult task which had arisen, controlled the process of its realization, went to the necessary authorities and sought the full resolution of the set task. He was a militant seeker and militant innovator.

Many journalists working in the sphere of the mass propaganda media are living and operating in an atmosphere of constant struggle for truth, right and the affirmation of justice. Many of them have to endure a great deal in these incessant fights and frequently display civic courage, argue and defend themselves against reproaches even on the part of certain leaders of party, soviet and economic authorities.

However, it needs to be said that a whole number of problems requiring solution, in-depth analysis and correct evaluations at times fails to receive due illustration, logical development and new convincing approaches.

For example, the proposition "All in the name of man, all for the good of man" is illustrated extensively in verbal propaganda and the mass media. This is as it should be. At the same time, however, the fact that it is all a question of man himself and his capabilities, willpower and talent is too often lost sight of. This distortion needs to be rectified because it deforms the party's highest strategic goal, forms a consumer mentality to a certain extent and downplays the decisive role of the human factor.

The task in this connection is with the help of the mass media to ensure that the consciousness of the working people and the citizens rise to the level of self-awareness and discipline become self-discipline, control, self-control, and management, self-management. This approach is a most important condition of restructuring and, ultimately, of the all-around development of the personality of each Soviet individual. Such an approach is all the more important in that journalists should actively attract public opinion to the orbit of socialist transformations in the economy, social life and culture and should stand together with the people on the threshold of the coming moral revolution.

Concern was also expressed at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum at the insufficient intensification of international education. The set task is that of ensuring that consistent, firm internationalism be counterposed to nationalist tendencies. The need proceeding from V.I. Lenin and our party's traditions for a display of particular sensitivity and circumspection in all that concerns the development of national relations and affects the interests of each nation and nationality and people's national feelings, demands the timely solution of the questions arising in this sphere.

A problem here is that of language. How many arguments, how much misunderstanding arise in this connection. Some people say that insufficient sensitivity is being shown toward the study of Kazakh, others claim that it is necessary to take advantage of the language of inter-nation communication--Russian. But, revealing the true reasons for this, it has to be said that essentially due significance is not being attached to the practical solution of questions of an improvement in the study of both Kazakh and Russian and many other languages--particularly questions of the study of Kazakh.

V.I. Lenin once pointed to the need for study of the language of the indigenous nation by all executives working in the national republics. Bilingualism is now firmly established in all the national republics. This is how things should be in accordance with Lenin's teaching on national relations.

However, bilingualism in Kazakhstan today has affected basically people of the indigenous nation and other small nations. Many Russians know Kazakh, but far from all. Of course, we must observe a voluntary approach in study of this language or the other, and there must be no pressure, so to speak, here; there should be an inner need because pressure and diktat give rise to a reverse reaction. And as far as the inner need is concerned, we must foster it in the Kazakh, Russian and any other citizen of any nationality residing on the territory of the republic. We must foster a respectful attitude toward the language of any nation and display concern to enhance the quality of study thereof.

As far as study of the language of the indigenous nationality is concerned, for the executives of party, soviet and economic authorities this inner need must be inculcated correctly and well. Any cultured, educated person should know at a minimum two languages. We must adhere in all things to Lenin's approaches to these questions and his attitude toward study of the languages of other peoples. And Lenin, as is known, knew, studied and understood seven foreign languages. The Ulyanov family read with ease classical literature in French, German, English and other languages. It is important to emphasize that they mastered foreign languages on their own.

As far as our reality, specifically the study of Kazakh, is concerned, certain difficulties arise here. In fact, how can all those who wish to study Kazakh on their own do so, given the lack of teaching aids? There is as yet no manual for self-instruction. It simply has not been written. It simply does not exist. Groups for those wishing to study the language of the great Abay are not being organized. In short, this work is not being performed at all. And the numerous arguments concerning an improvement in the study of Kazakh pertain, as a rule, to the need merely of representatives of the indigenous nationality.

Is this a correct way of operating? It is time we arrived at specific approaches in tackling these tasks. Doing more and saying less. For example, why are the mass lecture halls not equipped with simultaneous translation facilities? After all, every speaker addressing a multilingual audience has the right to speak in the language in which he is more comfortable. How much calumny there has been in respect of the fact that some people have no respect

for Kazakh and that it is inadequately taught in Kazakh schools. And that the Kazakhs do not know their own native language. That study thereof is optional and that lessons in Kazakh on the school schedule are organized in six lessons (sic) and that the students do not stay to study it. There is no doubt that these and many other questions require not so much study (these problems are precise and clear), as specific solution. One thing is clear: the standard of teaching of Kazakh both in the kindergarten and schools and in the VUZ's requires fundamental measures for a considerable improvement. Specific approaches are also required for an improvement in the use of Kazakh in other branches of learning also.

The Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute (A.T. Kaydarov, member of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences, director), which began as the Language, Literature and History Institute, is almost 50 years old. It has nine departments dealing with problems of Kazakh and one Russian department. However, the institute's workforce has not made a fitting contribution to the study of Kazakh and Russian, has not become a true research center coordinating the study of the languages and peoples living in Kazakhstan and has not made comprehensively weighed recommendations pertaining to the study of Kazakh and Russian.

The two-volume Russian-Kazakh dictionary published back in 1946 was reprinted not in a better but in a worse version, for which it was justly criticized. The Kazakh-Russian dictionary published in 1954 has become a bibliographical rarity. Work on an analogous dictionary has been under way for almost 30 years, and when it will be published is not known. Even executives of the Linguistics Institute, on whom the highest scholarly titles have been bestowed, cannot say. The reason is understandable for the preparation of a 10-volume explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language dragged on for many decades, and the phraseological dictionary of Kazakh, more than 30 years. At such a pace, a whole human life is not sufficient for the preparation of similar scholarly works.

Instead of extensive organization of the study thereof, the Russian Department has confined itself to the publication of two theoretical works. We do not need bare theorizing as regards functioning and optimization, what is needed is specific, practical and, what is most important, swift actual assistance in the study of Kazakh and Russian. We need Russian-Kazakh phrasebooks, pocket dictionaries, self-tuition manuals in Kazakh and other essential material.

Only then will we be able to organize the study of Kazakh and Russian properly and not in words and put this important business on a practical footing. And the Linguistics Institute, which should accelerate the preparation and publication of all the necessary literature and dictionaries, organize courses in Kazakh for enterprise, organization and establishment executives and initiate its extensive study, is called upon to play the decisive part here.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee has now given instructions for the preparation of a draft Central Committee and republic Council of Ministers decree on the need for an improvement in the study of Kazakh not only by the Kazakhs themselves but also persons of other nationalities. At the same time the insistent need for the better organization of the study of Russian arises. A

sound knowledge thereof has never, as is known, been harmful to either Kazakhs, Uighurs, Germans or persons of other nationalities residing on the territory of the Kazakh republic.

Respect for the language of this nation or the other means people's respect for the people of this nation. And to strengthen friendship between the peoples it is necessary to remove the totally unnecessary and at times artificially created obstacles in the way of a strengthening of this friendship. We know that the language problem is the determining one among many problems.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee sets the task of a just solution of this problem and of the due level of ideological support for the cause of a strengthening of fraternity and friendusnip between all peoples living in Kazakhstan. We need to strengthen friendship in every possible way not only by means of bilingual communication. The foundations of the true Leninist friendship of the peoples in the republic are solid. It has been, exists now and is strengthening, and we may take pride in it.

But the Kazakh CP Central Committee cannot agree with the position of the comrades and also the authors of certain publications who on this pretext or the other are attempting to operate with comparative data pertaining to national characteristics and aspects, which vulgarizes the ideas of internationalism and causes a certain irritation. We must display refined feelings and circumspection in this delicate sphere, abandon the fascination with "percentage-mania" in inter-nation relations and pay paramount attention to all that unites all nations on a socialist basis.

All these processes were fundamentally evaluated by the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. "Today," Comrade M.S. Gorbachev observed, "when democracy and self-management are expanding, when the rapid growth of the national self-awareness of all nations and nationalities is under way and the processes of internationalization are intensifying, particular importance is attached to the timely and just solution of emergent questions on the sole possible basis--in the interests of the burgeoning of each nation and nationality, in the interests of their further rapprochement, in the interests of all of society."

The sense of a single family becomes richer and more meaningful if existing problems are resolved on a national, nationwide scale in the interests of each equal republic constituting our union. I refer primarily to the solution of questions connected with an improvement in people's life and social existence, their inclusion in active social and labor activity and the institution of exemplary order in Alma-Ata, in all oblast centers and on the territory of the whole republic.

A decisive battle has now been declared against the exponents of evil, hooliganism and drunkenness and all who violate the generally recognized standards of morality. And how many people there are today who, in accordance with the law and the party rules, have had state and party proceedings instituted against them for various abuses, people who, wishing to escape responsibility and justify their abuses, are attempting to take cover behind

the alleged injustice in relations between the nations! These are dangerous arguments. And everyone, be he Kazakh, Russian, Uigher, German or representative of any other nation, must understand that whoever has deviated from the standards of morality and the law, flouts justice and abuses his office must be held fully accountable to the party and the state and the Soviet people for his misdoings--and his attempt to drive a wedge between the nations must be severely condemned by people of all nationalities, including that to which he himself belongs.

Only such an approach strengthens friendship. Only thus will true nationwide justice triumph--for the sake of which the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 70th anniversary we will commemorate this year, was accomplished.

8850

CSO: 1830/368

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

POOR MANAGEMENT AT PUBLISHING COMMITTEE CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 5 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 600-word report issued by the TSSR People's Control Committee headlined "We Must Protect Socialist Property"; the report analyzes shortcomings in controls over operations of the TSSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing Houses and the Book Trade. "In the committee's study basic shortcomings were revealed in the state committee's protection of socialist property and in its conduct of financial management." The investigation found that the committee's inspection department lacked a full staff, and that those on the staff had a poor grasp of their job. "Thus, its inspection materials are superficial and reveal no basic shortcomings. No all-round inspections have been included in its yearly plan. With regard to yearly inspections, there have been none in its plants and organizations for the last 2 or 3 years." The report adds that 20 of its plants have not been inspected in over 3 years. A consequence of this is that no up-to-date inventories exist, especially in organizations connected with the book trade.

KaSSR: EDITORS MUST BE MORE SELECTIVE IN APPROVING MANUSCRIPTS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 2 January 1987 carries on pages 6-7 a 2,200-word article by Rizabek Adwov, chief editor of the KaSSR State Committee for the Press, Printing and the Book Trade, published under the rubric "Presses in the New Year," entitled "The Tasks Still Ahead." In the article, Adwov looks in particular at the problem of how to suit the KaSSR book and publishing industry better to the needs of changing times, acknowledging the many inefficiencies of the past.

Most of the specific problem areas discussed by Adwov--e.g., poorly organized publishing planning, difficulties with subscriptions and printing sizes, poorly organized book distributions, poor book printing quality, etc.--are nothing new and have been discussed in detail hitherto in the Kazakh press. Adwov does, however, strike a new note in suggesting that one problem with lagging sales of publications of literary works may be the poor quality of the works published themselves. In this connection Adwov calls upon editors--some of which have been unprincipled, he suggests--to return more manuscripts to their authors and to exercise higher standards.

Kazakh presses will publish 40 million books this year and output will rise to 50 million by 1990. Plans of specific republic presses are detailed.

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

ARTICLE CITES LENIN LETTERS ON RESTRUCTURING DURING NEP

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ye. Komarov, candidate of economic sciences: "The Science of Administration: On the 65th Anniversary of V. I. Lenin's Letters Concerning Restructuring"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The beginning of 1922... The New Economic Policy is requiring, more and more persistently, a new style and new work forms and methods in the administrative apparatus. What specifically should be changed? How should one overcome the obsolete approaches? Where should one concentrate one's efforts? Lenin's letters, dated January-February 1922, provide the answers to these questions.

In implementing policy, an important factor is the choice of the basic links. By grasping them, it is possible to pull the entire chain. One of these links under conditions of the NEP was the resolution of the problems in state and cooperative trade. During the years of the civil war and intervention, that trade had practically ceased. Its material-technical base had fallen into a slump. The commodity reserves were not renewed and soon they were exhausted. Simultaneously it was necessary to work out the problems of monetary circulation on the basis of the stabilization of the ruble.

Restructuring the apparatus, as Lenin saw it, is not the endless "thinking up" of new work forms and methods, but their practical application and the checking by means of the practical result. For example, the restructuring of Narkomfin [People's Commissariat of Finance] should be viewed as the development of trade and the elimination of everything that is sluggish, sleepy, and commercially unsound. "Either NKfin [People's Commissariat of Finance] will succeed in changing over to this work, or NKF [People's Commissariat of Finance] as a whole is equal to zero," Lenin concludes in one of the letters.

The "either-or" formula is also applied by Vladimir Ilich to the activity of Gosbank, which was recreated in October 1921. Lenin felt that Gosbank had two paths. Either restructuring in the direction of choosing people capable of setting up trade, checking it, encouraging efficient traders, and closing down the pseudocommercial and factory "Potemkin villages." Or leave everything the

way it is. Then Gosbank as a whole and its entire work are equal to zero, or worse than zero, plus self-deception with a bureaucratic rattle.

In late 1921 and early 1922, 90-98 percent of the current accounts belonged to state trusts. Figures can be presented in various ways, especially the large ones which make a loud "rattle." But it is necessary to know the truth, Lenin remarked. The truth was that Gosbank, by transferring Soviet rubles from one state pocket to another, exerted a weak influence upon the mobilization of financial resources of the cooperatives and of private capital. And if a leader does not want to look at the truth with open eyes, then he, in the prime of his life, will perish in the mire of official lying. That is the unpleasant truth, Lenin wrote, but nevertheless truth.

Certain workers at Narkomvneshtorg [People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade] and Gosplan, giving as their reason a number of formal considerations, spoke out against Gosbank's participation in trade. They prepared a "Summary of Opinions Concerning the Question of Gosbank's Active Participation in Trade Enterprises." After reading that document, Lenin wrote: "Slavery to routine and a pseudoscientific approach. Mental stagnation."

The New Economic Policy required different approaches, a different way of thinking. As practical life pointed out, that was indispensable. Gosbank took direct part in trade: it entered into a shared cooperative association (together with the Consumer Cooperatives Bank); it carried out wholesale operations; in a number of instances it bought commodities from private-capital enterprises; it sold articles of faulty payers; and issued loans to economic agencies on condition of their return in the form of a mass of commodities with subsequent sale.

In resolving the tasks of the New Economic Policy, a special role was assigned to Narkom [People's Commissariat] of Justice. Under the previous military conditions, the combat agencies were chiefly Narkomvoyen [People's Commissariat for Military Affairs] and VChK [All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counterrevolution and Sabotage]. Now it was Narkomyust [People's Commissariat of Justice]. What was especially disgraceful, Lenin writes, is the weakness and somnolence of the administrators of that department. There was no understanding of the fact that Soviet power acknowledges only state capitalism. Therefore there was absolutely no use to be served by those Communists who did not understand the tasks of limiting and bridling the capitalism that goes beyond the confines of state capitalism.

Let the capitalist do business and get rich -- that is permissible under the conditions of the NEP. But he must be honest, he must submit truthful reports, and he must take into consideration not only the letter, but also the spirit of the legislation. Narkomyust has to achieve a situation in which capitalism in our society is "trained" and "decent." And if it does not prove, by a number of exemplary trials, that it is able to catch and punish people for their violations, "then NKYust [People's Commissariat of Justice] is absolutely worthless," Lenin concludes, "and I will deem it my duty then to try to obtain from the Central Committee the complete replacement of the responsible workers at NKYust."

Vladimir Ilich devoted a great deal of attention to the restructuring of the work of Sovnarkom (SNK) [Council of People's Commissars] and the Council of Labor and Defense (STO), the directions and tasks of which work he had defined in letters to A. D. Tsyurupa. The idea of that restructuring is also contained in certain subsequent letters, decrees, and proposals.

In Lenin's opinion, the fundamental shortcoming of SNK and STO was the lack of a checking of execution. "We are drawn into the foul bureaucratic quagmire of writing all kinds of papers, blathering about decrees, and the writing of decrees, and any real work drowns in this sea of paper."

V. I. Lenin proposes a number of measures: the restructuring of the work system; the fight against bureaucratic methods and red tape; the reduction of the flood of paper; the establishment of personal responsibility; the conducting a minimal number of sessions; the reduction of all kinds of commissions; an assortment of people; a search for skilled workers; the checking of the actual situation, and of execution. That is, restructuring means a rejection of that which outwardly poses as "activity" and "guidance," and the changeover to a new system, which is practical and efficient and which has a high rate of results. And in that system Lenin assigned one of the chief places to the checking of execution.

In the preparatory materials for the 11th RKP(b) Congress, Lenin mentions several times the need precisely for the checking of execution. In the "Decree Concerning the Work of the Zams (Deputy Chairmen of SNK and STO)," which was developed immediately after the party's 11th Congress, he notes that the zams' basic work, for which they answer specially, consists in checking the actual execution of the decrees, laws, and regulations.

And for this purpose it is necessary, as Lenin noted, to relieve the SNK and the STO of the job of considering and resolving the petty questions (the so-called "vermicelli"). If the central agencies are loaded down with petty details, that causes a paper-shuffling attitude and red tape, and reduces the responsibility borne by the subordinate agencies and administrators. Therefore, Lenin remarks in one of his letters to A. D. Tsyurupa, it is necessary to develop a written principle concerning the submission and progress of files at SNK and STO, to increase the responsibility of the people's commissariats, and not to "be drawn into" matters that are to be resolved by the people's commissars.

Another shortcoming in the work of the SNK and the STO, as pointed out by Lenin, was the "disgraceful abundance of commissions." By 1922 the Sovnarkom, STO, and the Small SNK had been "overgrown" by 120 permanent and temporary commissions. One of Lenin's contemporaries remarked that certain comrades had been given a large work load involving "commission" work and did not have any time left for normal work involving the fulfillment of their official duties. The makeup of the commissions is reconsidered: of 120, 104 are deemed to be unnecessary.

In restructuring the work of the SNK and the STO, as, incidentally, in other agencies of administration, Lenin especially isolates such a critical

principle as the selection of cadres. He recommends to his deputies that they study people and look "down below" for skillful workers, making trips for that purpose from time to time to individual Moscow institutions and the provinces. Putting the "upper" administrators in communication with the ordinary workers is not only a means for selecting cadres, but also of locating reserves in the administrative apparatus. Therefore, subsequently Lenin proposed that the zams, instead of holding endless meetings, devote more attention to improving and correcting the apparatus: they should allow no more than two hours a week to "fall to the bottom" by personally studying various parts of it, both the upper-level and lower-level ones, including the most unexpected ones.

Lenin invariably linked the restructuring of the work performed by the administrative agencies and the administrators with the achievement of "tangible" results. "The 'zone of propaganda by decrees' has passed. The masses will understand and evaluate only efficient practical work, practical success in economic and cultural work."

Following Leninist tradition, the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has closely linked the questions of restructuring with the execution of a well-principled cadre policy. A decisive criterion in evaluating the cadres and their rate of political and civic participation is their performance of real jobs to fulfill the tasks of socioeconomic acceleration.

V. I. Lenin's letters concerning restructuring are in harmony with today's practice, with the measures to improve the work style and methods of the administrative apparatus. They teach us the timeliness of changes, flexibility, and the rejection of everything that is obsolete and ossified, and that hinders our actions. They teach us how to carry out an economic analysis of the situation, how to select the chief tasks and the criteria for evaluating people's work. They are a component part of the Leninist science of administration on the most difficult and most complicated of all "fronts" -- the economic one.

5075
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HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

'COMPLEX' BOOK ON NON-MARXIST SOCIALISM FAVORABLY REVIEWED

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 47, 21 Nov 86 p 4

[Review by Professor D. Kazakov, doctor of philosophical sciences and A. Pavlenko, candidate of economic sciences, under "Reviewer's Opinion" rubric, of book "Nemarksistkiye Kontseptsii Sotsializma. Kollektivnaya Monografiya" [Non-Marxist Conceptions of Socialism. A Collective Monograph], Ye. S. Troitskiy, editor-in-chief, Moscow, Mysl]

[Text] Annotation

This book characterizes the public and economic, historical, and ideological and theoretical sources of the most recent non-Marxist conceptions of socialism. Ye. S. Troitskiy, editor-in-chief.

The widespread dissemination of non-Marxist socialist conceptions is one of the characteristic features of the present stage of ideological antagonism between the two world systems. Socialism's slogans have acquired such power to attract that there are presently about 70 developing and capitalist states wherein a variety of non-Marxist conceptions of socialism have been put forth as the official ideological doctrine, whereas at the end of the 1950's there were no more than 30 such countries.

A number of works by Soviet scholars have been devoted to a critical analysis of contemporary non-Marxist notions of socialism. This new collective monograph differs from its predecessors in its comprehensive and generalizing thrust. The authors, supported by the methodological bases of Marxist-Leninist teaching, investigate the sources and class content of a variety of conceptions of non-proletarian socialism, and point out their roles in the ideological struggle and the relation of Marxist-Leninist parties to them.

This publication analyzes the ideas of "bourgeois socialism", the revisionist ideas of the doctrine of "democratic socialism" espoused by the Social Democrats, ideological trends in Asian, African and Latin American countries, theories of "religious" and "ecological" socialism etc. The book reveals the unsoundness of non-Marxist opinions of socialism as well as their utopian character while at the same time demonstrating the terrific vital force of Marxism-Leninism and Scientific Socialism.

The new political thought of the nuclear and space age also requires new approaches to non-Marxist socialist trends. As expressed in the latest edition of the CPSU Program, "No matter how deep the differences have been between the differing trends in the workers' movement, they have not hampered the fruitful and systematic exchange of opinions, parallel or joint actions against the danger of war, normalization of the international situation or the elimination of the remnants of colonialism in the interests of workers' rights."

This is the position held by a great many non-proletarian socialist trends, and is one of the monograph's pivotal ideas, wherein it is emphasized that "peace is one of socialism's highest values and ideals". Constructive dialogue and collaboration between representatives of differing socialist currents, and the uniting of their efforts in the struggle against the arms race are extraordinarily important. The struggle against imperialism, and criticism of its policy both by spokesmen for non-proletarian socialist ideas as well as by Marxists helps to unmask the pernicious activities of the leaders of the military-industrial complex.

Although the book is written along a number of different lines, not all the problems taken up in it are given sufficient discussion. In particular, the analysis of the ideas of "Christian Socialism", which have been widely disseminated in many European and Latin American countries, could have been given a great deal of attention. This, however, does not diminish the book's basic merits.

12659
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HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

HIERARCHY OF INTERNATIONAL OVER NATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY STRESSED

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OБSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK
in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 86 (signed to press 11 Sep 86) pp 12-17

[Article by B. K. Bayiyarova, "The Question of the Internationalist Psychology of the Soviet People"]

[Text] One of the most pressing problems undergoing detailed examination at the 27th CPSU Congress is that of strengthening the unity of the Soviet people. As General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M. S. Gorbachev said, "The Soviet people constitute a qualitatively new social and international community, held together by a unity of economic interests, ideology and political goals" (1).

The internal needs of the Soviet people lie in socialist internationalism, the amity and brotherhood of peoples and the striving for mutual spiritual enrichment. The qualitative changes which have come about in national relations in the USSR have been made the subject of scientific research, the result of which is that the categorizing system used by Marxist-Leninist sociologists has been enriched by such concepts as "Soviet culture", "the Soviet character", "the Soviet way of life", "general Soviet pride", "Soviet patriotism" etc., all of which reflect the dynamic within which the multinational Soviet people have developed. The new social and international community formed while building socialism has profoundly changed the psychology of the peoples of the USSR, as has the formation of the internationalist psychology of the Soviet people, whereas there can be no unified popular psychology in an antagonistic society, since the class existence of the opposed classes strictly determines their social and psychological makeup.

The internationalist psychology of the Soviet people is a qualitatively new social-psychological phenomenon, and is an aggregate of those phenomena and processes of mass consciousness which have determined the system of stimulative forces and the motives for the behavior and activities of the personality.

This is a problem which, although it too attracted the attention of researchers, has not yet been studied enough and stems, we believe, from the

complexity of the subject itself and its numerous aspects. Let us examine some of these aspects.

Internationalist consciousness and the psychology of the Soviet people constitute a fusion of the common traits in the consciousness of each socialist nation, each nationality and each ethnic group, which traits have arisen as the result of the nations having drawn together.

"International" defines the psychological essence of the Soviet people. Such traits as a devotion to communism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, a high degree of labor and public-political activity, a refusal to reconcile themselves to national and racial prejudice, and class solidarity with the workers of all countries have become the property of all Soviet people, who represent a variety of nationalities. The international psychological traits of the Soviet people reflect socialist public relations and at the same time have become "new national traits, since those who bear them represent one nationality or another." (2) They embody the best of mankind's commonly shared progressive democratic traits, which "open the very broadest opportunities to the Soviet people to unite themselves to all that has value, to all that which has been engendered by the talent of each of our country's peoples." (3)

The internationalist traits of the Soviet peoples' psychology have taken their form from the ideology and psychology of the working class, which "has been and remains the most consistent channel for expressing the international solidarity and brotherhood of the workers." (4) The working class's moral and psychological values, which under socialism have been infused with new content, "have been adopted by the people of all the other social strata of our society and have been transformed into their own personality traits" (5).

Proletarian internationalism, while reflecting the objective correspondence of the national in the life of the working class, with its international interests, is a reflection of class on a national level.

Internationalist and collectivist origins, as well as communist conviction and high moral spirit are typical of the working class of each of our union republics. These are the very features which have become the foundation for forming the unified psychology of the Soviet people and for overcoming the limitations of a national psychology.

The internationalist consciousness and psychology of the Soviet people which have come into being are not in opposition to national consciousness or a nation's psychology. The dialectic of internationalist psychology is such that as the progressive aspects of the national develop, new international traits are formed, and this brings peoples closer with regard to their psychological relations and helps form a more homogeneous public psychology.

Socialist internationalism and patriotism, as paramount ideological and political principles, fill the national feelings of the Soviet people with their essence and are essential traits of the Soviet people's psychology. It is important that we mention that the role of internationalism is growing, not only as an element of a theory, but also as a determinant of people's behavior in their practical activities in all spheres of public life. That is why the

Party's paramount task, as noted by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev, lies in stirring up the labor and social activities of the Soviet, strengthening discipline and inculcating patriotism and internationalism...." (6)

Internationalism, as the major feature of the psychology of the Soviet people, makes itself known through feelings, opinions and notions and has an active influence on the emotional aspect of intercourse among nations, regulates the behavior of the personality, and helps bolster the feelings of brotherhood and mutual sympathy of the Soviet nations and nationalities.

In their conception of internationalism, the classic works of Marxism-Leninism concentrated on its class character. That is why this principle must be put at the foundation of the internationalist education of the workers.

Socialist patriotism has become an integral trait of the psychology of the Soviet people. "Socialism as Fatherland" (7) is the main object and source of the patriotic feelings of the workers. Patriotism is not only an ideological and political phenomenon, but is a profoundly psychological one as well, inasmuch as it reflects a feeling of love for the Fatherland, and for the national values of its people. Socialist patriotism addresses itself not only to the values of a given nation, but first and foremost to the socialist achievements of all Soviet nations and nationalities. It transcends the strictures of national affiliation and becomes pervaded with a new essence. At the same time, we need to point out that socialism has engendered a new type of patriotism, one which has been organically fused with internationalism. In reflecting the regularities inherent in the development of a united socialist Fatherland, socialist patriotism includes, as its paramount aspect, the consciousness of the internationalist unity of the peoples of the USSR. Patriotic feelings possess tremendous stimulative force. In emphasizing their social significance, V. I. Lenin said that "without this patriotism, we would not have been able to protect the Soviet Republic...This is the best revolutionary patriotism." (8)

One of the striking features of the consciousness and psychology of the nations, nationalities and ethical groups which make up our country is our overall national pride. This is an emotional and moral expression of the friendship of peoples and their international unity. It is richer and more expansive than national pride. All that is better, foremost, common to all mankind, and which can be retained throughout the history of a people is the object of national pride. Under socialism, this becomes the property of other peoples as well. K. Marx's prediction that under socialism, each nation would have the opportunity to learn from the other and to adopt all that is of value and progressive, has come true. (9)

The material, spiritual and moral values of the peoples of the USSR, their revolutionary and labor traditions, their scientific and technological achievements and their spiritual culture as a whole are objects of national pride. This is pride, as mentioned at the 27th CPSU Congress, in the contribution made by the Soviet people to mankind's historical progress. At the same time these phenomena are sources of national pride, since all the country's nations and nationalities take part in creating Soviet material and

spiritual values. This mutual enrichment of socialist nations and nationalities in all spheres of public life leads to a strengthening of national pride, which is embodied in the unity of the international and the national and is in keeping with its initial social basis--the socialist way of life.

The heightening of the sense of unity and of community of historical destinies, and the ideological rapprochement of our fraternal peoples have helped foster such traits as a sense of being in charge of their own country and a new attitude towards labor, optimism and collectivism in the consciousness and psychology of the soviet people. The category known as "the Soviet character" is a concentrated expression of those things which constitute the spiritual make-up of the Soviet people. Here, Communist ideological content and conviction are the foundation upon which all this stands. The formation of the Soviet character was an expression of tremendous shifts in the spiritual outlook and the psyche of the soviet peoples. P. N. Fedoseyev, in characterizing this qualitative leap, writes: "...thanks to having worked together to solve common social tasks and thanks to the formation of a new historical community on the part of those peoples making it up, a commonly-held international consciousness has come into being, with socialist ideology as its basis. This is a fusion of traits common to the national consciousness of each nation and nationality, and the international value common to them. The development of the internationalist consciousness of the peoples of the USSR has achieved a high level." (10)

A problem has arisen here in the relation of the national to the international and to the Soviet in the nature of mankind in the Age of Developed Socialism. The Soviet character does not rule out the national character. It is a reflection of the social and political unity of the Soviet nations and the fundamental properties of the Soviet people, just as the national character is an expression of a nation's common ethnic unity, and is itself a fact of a nation's existence. In structural terms, the character of a Soviet nation can be broken down into that which is common to all mankind, the pan-Soviet (international) and the national. "The pan-Soviet is central to the interests and the spiritual make-up, the traditions and the psychology of all the class and national communities which make up the Soviet people. The pan-Soviet element is found in the culture, way of life, traditions and psychology of all of our country's social and national communities," writes M. S. Dzhunusov (11). That part of the character of the Soviet nations which is common to all mankind and to all Soviet entities shows up in nationalist manifestations, i.e., singular ways of expressing feelings, moods and emotions, and in behavior, customs and tastes.

Within the national character, the national is enriched by the international and by the universal. The determinant trait of the Soviet character is the international, which takes in the best aspects of the national characters of the socialist nations. We need to mention that many of the traits inherent in the Soviet character, i.e., humanism, internationalism, collectivism, comradely mutual aid etc., are important to all mankind.

The formation of the Soviet people's internationalist psychology has been determined by the overall aggregate of socialist public relations.

Multinational labor collectives play an important part in this process. Direct labor-related contacts between representatives of different nationalities, where common goals and interests are shared and there is a climate of friendship, are an important factor in bringing nations closer together and in forming internationalist traits in the spiritual make-up and psychology of Soviet peoples. Sociological research conducted by scientists in Kazakhstan under the guidance of M. M. Suzhikov at the Balkhash Mining and Metallurgical Combine and in kolkhozes in the Alma-Ata Oblast showed that 81.9 percent of those questioned have friends of other nationalities. Only 15 percent of those questioned said they had no such friends. Of those surveyed in Kazakhstan, 87 percent said that their friendship with persons of other nationalities was associated with their work in the collective, and the friendship of only 13 percent of those questioned with people of other nationalities stemmed from a non-labor association (12). Similar data have been obtained in cities in the MSSR, the UzSSR, the GSSR, the Tatar ASSR and other republics. These data attest to the fact that jointly-performed labor has been an important factor in the formation of the internationalist psychology of the Soviet people.

In national psychology and national traditions everything does not always conform to the essence of internationalist consciousness and the communist ideal. There still occur "inclinations toward national isolation, localistic tendencies and parasitical attitudes" (13). Relapses into national conceit and vanity more often than not can effect such areas of the life of a community as its way of life, interpersonal relationships, the aims, tastes, and behavior of individual people and how facts about the historical past and scientific and cultural achievements are evaluated. As these things occur, the tendency toward national isolation is accompanied by haughtiness and a nihilistic attitude toward the progressive traditions, customs, culture and merits of other peoples. As a rule, these phenomena are intertwined with others which are diametrically opposed to communist morals.

Nationalist feelings, and relapses of petty bourgeois psychology can be encouraged from without, by the bourgeois world. The apologists of imperialism devise various ways of "building bridges", of remaking socialism and its "peaceful development" over into capitalism, devise theories of "convergence" and "post-industrial society" etc. In so doing, they are unanimous in their attempts to encourage and make extensive use of nationalism as a reliable resource. It is no accident that they study our country's national relations so intensely, and that they are trying to find a loop-hole of some sort through which to inject their bourgeois psychology and ideology into the consciousness of our people. This is why ideological work treats everything having to do with nationalist policy and which affects the interests of each and every nationality and people's national feelings with particular sensitiveness and circumspection and at the same time "has no tolerance for manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, for national narrowness and national egoism, or to customs and morals which interfere with communist regeneration of life" (14). And the effectiveness of ideological and educational work manifests itself first of all in "how workers, kolkhoz farmers and the intelligentsia participate in solving large and small problems, how they work and how they struggle with shortcomings" (15).

Thus, the transformation of social and class psychology into the unified internationalist psychology of the Soviet people is closely related to the formation of the New Man, to international education, the core of which lies in working out a class and party approach to the phenomena of national relations.

The formation of the internationalist psychology of the Soviet people means more than merely the presence of one or another psychological trait among a number of nations, nationalities or ethnic groups. A common psychology means the formation of a unified psychological structure among Soviet people.

In examining the formation of the internationalist psychology of the Soviet nation, the basic trends in the process can be broken down thus: conversion of Marxist-Leninist ideology into the ideology of the entire nation and the gradual remaking of a social class psychology into a pan-Soviet, internationalist psychology in which class and national differences will gradually lose their significance. The psychology of the Soviet people is a qualitatively new social and psychological phenomenon, and is a concentrated expression of the entire general, international and national consciousness of each nation, nationality, and ethnic group. It is strictly a class phenomenon in its social purposefulness and is the social and psychological equivalent to the socialist way of life and socialist public relations. At the same time, one cannot fail to see that at the stage of developed socialism, and in a highly-organized society whose worker-patriots and internationalists are possessed of high moral fibre and consciousness, internationalization of the psychology of the Soviet people has been elevated to a new qualitative stage.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. S. Gorbachev: "Politicheskiy Doklad Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS XXVII Syezdu Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza//Materialy XXVII Syezda KPSS. [Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress//Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress]. Moscow, 1986, p 53.
2. S. T. Kaltakhchyan: "Leninizm o Sushchnosti Natsiy i Puti Obrazovaniya Internatsionalnoy Obshchnosti Lyudey" [Leninism on the Essence of Nations and Methods for Forming an International Community of People] Moscow, 1976. p 347.
3. "Programma KPSS: Novaya Redaktsiya//Materialy XXVII Syezda KPSS" [CPSU Program: New Edition//Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], p 157.
4. "O 60-ye Godovshchine Obrazovaniya Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik: Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 19 Fevralya 1982" [The 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR: Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 19 February 1982]. Moscow, 1982. p 10.
5. N. D. Dzhandilidin, "Yedinaya Psichologiya Sovetskogo Naroda kak Otrazheniye Sotsialisteskoy Deystvitelnosti//Obrazovaniye Soyuza SSR--Zhivoye Voplosneniye Leninskikh Printsirov Natsionalnoy Politike" [The Unified

Psychology of the Soviet People as a Reflection of Socialist Reality//The Formation of the USSR--the Living Embodiment of the Leninist Principles of National Policy]. Alma-Ata. 1982. p 22.

6. "Materialy Vneshchernogo Plenuma TsK KPSS" [Materials of the Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee], 11 March 1985. Moscow, 1985, p 10.

7. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 36, p 82.

8. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 42, p 124.

9. See: K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol 23, p 10.

10. P. N. Fedoseyev, "Teoreticheskiye Problemy Razvitiya i Sblizheniya Natsiy" [Theoretical Problems in the Development and Rapprochement of Nations] KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1980, p 65.

11. M. S. Dzhunusov, "Obshchestvenny Progress i Natsionalnye Otnosheniya" [Social Progress and National Relations]. Alma-Ata, 1976, p 134.

12. "Internatsionalizm Mnogonatsionalnogo Kollektiva" [The Internationalism of the Multinational Collective]. Alma-Ata, 1984, p 67.

13. M. S. Gorbachev, op. cit., p 53.

14. "Programma..." op. cit., p 165.

15. "Materialy..." op. cit., p 10.

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RELIGION

SELF-STYLED MULLAH EXPOSED AS NAZI COLLABORATOR

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by UzTAG Correspondent in Andizhan K. Nizamov: "Who Served As 'the Servant of Allah'"]

[Text] A self-styled mullah, considered by some believers to be nearly a saint, served in Hitler's army during the war.

Incontrovertible evidence of this was presented to the inhabitants of the kishlak [village] of Gargar at a gathering organized by the soviet of war veterans and laborers of the Markhamatskiy Rayon of Andizhan Oblast. In particular, the people saw a photograph dating from 1944 in which Kimsan Parpiyev appears among those just like him, traitors to their Fatherland.

He did not have a grey beard then, nor a turban, a symbol of "saintliness." In the picture the future mullah is dressed in a new fascist uniform, which he donned voluntarily after voluntarily surrendering. And he took it off only in May, 1945, after the victory of the Soviet forces. At that time he managed to escape punishment. Having returned to his kishlak, he got a job as a gardener and quietly worked until he was pensioned off, after which he "appointed" himself the local mullah.

The anger of the villagers was unbounded when the documents from the archives about the "service record" of Parpiyev in the ranks of Hitler's forces were placed before them. In Gargar, in fact, as in all the cities and kishlaks of Uzbekistan, there is hardly a family which doesn't have memories of grandfathers and fathers who gave their lives for the Soviet Fatherland. "Open your eyes, countrymen," said Abdukadyrata Mukhitdinov, a disabled veteran of World War II. "Who have you been praying before, whose admonishments have you heard?... A white beard, a white turban, and his face is black, his is the face of a deceiver. That is to whom you gave your blind faith. Well these are the kind of rascals who come from religion."

Those attending the gathering had many bitter words for the representatives of the rayon ispolkom and the rayon military commissariat. How could it happen that Kimsan Parpiyev, this two-faced hypocrite, could remain undiscovered for all these years? It turns out that the military commissariat was satisfied with the testimony of his countrymen with whom he was drafted into the army,

and the document check of the "military path" of the deceiver himself was not bothered with. That is how he was able to grow rich through identifying himself as a war veteran, and on holidays he pinned on his coat not only the honorable mark of someone who served at the front, but also the Order of the War for the Fatherland, Level II.

Veterans of war and labor K. Atakhanov, P. Kamilov, and others spoke openly at the meeting also about the fact that atheist propaganda in the rayon is poorly conducted, especially among the youth and in homes. The elders openly stated that the majority of steps are conducted "for the record," and at the same time the impostors from religion illegally corrupt the minds of gullible people. That is why the freedom of Gargar was given to Kimsan Parpiyev, who conducted active religious propaganda, having no corresponding education, no holy orders, but only the cowardly desire to hide his true identity.

It makes sense that after everything which was brought out, the traitor was deprived of the privileges which he had taken to himself. The decorations which had been given him by the gullible were also taken from him. Parpiyev escaped criminal accountability only because there was no evidence of his direct participation in fascist military operations. But the scorn of his countrymen will remain with him forever.

9016

CSO: 1830/345

CULTURE

KAZAKH CRITIC ON 'RAMBOISM'

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 18 January 1987 carries on pages 14-15 an 1,800-word article by QAZAQ ADEBIYETI special reporter and film critic Shakizada Quttayaqov, published under the rubric "Bourgeoisie Art: Its Goals and 'Gain'," entitled "Rambo, a Centaur and Other Things." The article, the result of the author's recent visit to an all-union conference of film critics held in Moscow, looks at some recent Western film offerings, including several films in the "Rambo" series, shown during the conference.

Quttayaqov sees "Rambo" and Rambo mania as only too indicative of Western film-making, which pays heed to the mass mentality and to the dollar rather than to high artistic standards. He also condemns the blatant anti-Sovietism of "Rambo" and films like it, which, he laments, are unfortunately shown only too widely in the capitalist world.

Also discussed by Quttayaqov is the television series "Amerika," which he sees as expressing many of the same misplaced values as "Rambo." He does note some "progressive films" shown in Moscow as well, but criticizes even these films for expressing the Western fixation with violence and sex.

9857/6091
CSO: 1832/417

SOCIAL ISSUES

ROLE OF PEOPLES' ASSESSORS IN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS QUESTIONED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Yuriy Feofanov: "Two Others"; passages in slant marks are in boldface or expanded type in the original]

[Text] It was long ago now. I myself wrote about this trial long ago. It was an unusual one. Two gangs of teenagers had started fighting--"West Side Story" in a passageway in Mazutnyy. One of them was killed in the fight. A rather puny 17-year-old confessed in the investigation and later at the trial:

"It was I who hit him. With a knife."

Everything was clear: a confession--the queen of evidence! The confessions, of course, were reinforced and confirmed by a great deal of other evidence and testimony.

But afterwards the whole iron chain of evidence collapsed. And then I wrote in IZVESTIYA how clever the attorney was in finding one contradiction after another; how much courage it took for the procurator to abandon the charges against the young man who had assumed the role of the killer in order to save an adult from "the firing squad."

Here's one episode, though, that never was put down on paper. In the first place, I was not present at the session in which it happened; and in the second place, I considered it, in general, not very serious, even a little shocking to the "judicial mantle." However, the following happened in court: When the principal defendant was in the process of testifying once more as to how he had thrust in the knife, a people's assessor, an elderly man, interrupted him with a nonprocedural rejoinder: "You're lying about all this, fellow! How could you, a little wimp, raise a knife against a two-meter-tall student?"

Evidently, there was embarrassment in the court. It's possible that the presiding judge smoothed over his colleague's "judicial tactlessness." I assume that it was by no means under the blow of this "tactlessness" but thanks to the wise work of everyone involved in the trial that the chain of evidence fell apart. I will assume anything you like. But I curse myself: why didn't I track it down at the time--can it be that this unprofessional

doubt was precisely what turned everything around? After all, before that there had been a lengthy investigation, eyewitness reports, the testimony of experts. And here was a single doubt! But in the final analysis we know that the foolish boy was the only one who saw that the king wore no clothes.

Indeed. Anyone who is older will remember the remarkable American film "Twelve Angry Men." The entire action takes place in the jury room. Everyone is convinced of the defendant's guilt. Only one person doubts the validity of a minor episode in the chain of events. He only doubts! That's all. The verdict: acquittal. Not because they believed in his innocence. No. They /turned out to be uncertain of his guilt/.

Lately a great deal has been said and written about judicial errors. They have been analyzed by scientists and journalists and discussed in high-level meetings. This is understandable: society cannot fail to be troubled by even one case in which a person is convicted without being guilty. And there has not been just one case! I was at the last plenum of the USSR Supreme Court, where this was discussed with all the bluntness and forcefulness that are characteristic of our times.

Where do these nightmarish cases come from and how do they arise? Many reasons have been cited. There may be criminal lack of conscientiousness on the part of investigating officers, who sometimes arrest a person without sufficient cause merely in order to "close the case"; and there may be equally criminal bias during the preliminary investigation [i.e., following the arrest of a suspect]; there may be irresponsibility in a judicial investigation that merely follows the lead of the preliminary investigation; there may be indifference on the part of appellate courts that merely "rubber-stamp" convictions while forgetting that these are not pieces of paper but human beings. Of course, conclusions are drawn about how to increase responsibility, how to prevent irresponsibility, and what changes should be made as to who should be subordinated to whom. Everything is intelligent, well argued and constructive.

I read, I listen, and I think about these analytical opinions or exposés by public-affairs writers, and I recall that long-ago case. In a situation where those same, or similar, mistakes had been made in the course of the inquiry and investigation, a man who had no knowledge whatsoever of the basic elements of jurisprudence came out and said without any grounds--I doubt that that young man killed him. And that was all. And from him, a /people's assessor/, nothing more is asked: to doubt if even the shadow of such a doubt arises. And to stick to his belief to the end despite logic, facts and the law itself.

Yes, even the law! In the final analysis, the law will sort everything out. It is no accident that it, the law, placed two nonlawyers at the top of the investigative-judicial pyramid and endowed them with the right to establish the verdict that their conscience suggests to them, even when it is contrary to the enlightened opinion of their procedural director, the judge. And it called these two "of the people." At one time in classical Rome tribunes--special people with the right to suspend any law--were called of the people.

Most likely the English are right when they claim that the hardest thing is to understand wherein your duty lies, and that it is considerably easier then to carry it out. Sometimes refined investigative thought winds so cleverly, with such superficial logic, and in such an airtight fashion that, for example, an honest director who has transformed the trash-filled yard of a plant into a flowering square suddenly turns out to be a major embezzler of state funds. No one asserts that even a kopeck ended up in his pocket (how much has been written about such cases!). If a people's assessor sees his duty to consist in figuring out, together with the judge, the financial stratagems, you can consider that the director is sure to get 10 years. But if he, the people's assessor, is persuaded that the court is faced with an honest person, even though he may have violated a thousand paragraphs, his duty is to say, contrary to all opinions, that the king is wearing no clothes. That is, to say what he personally thinks, seeing a person in front of him and soberly evaluating what he is accused of. And all the stratagems of the dread preliminary investigation will turn out to have no clothes.

And you can be certain that there will hardly be anyone who will dare to telephone a people's assessor, who is not a civil servant in the judicial department, and give him instructions as to who should be punished and who pardoned. And the "interests of society" on the scale of the rayon will hardly be pointed out to him--it's risky to make such instructions known.

Let the reader not think that I am oversimplifying, undermining and calling for some sort of guerrilla tactics: that I'm calling to ignore all codes and all the materials of a case. No, I am simply attempting to understand the /will of the Legislator/ who placed two laymen in jurisprudence at the top. Why did he do it?! Not in order to lower the professional level of the court!

And that is why I am taking upon myself the boldness to say: in all judicial errors it is we, simple citizens who are remote from jurisprudence and do not know the subtleties of proceedings, who are guilty above all. For legal justice is entrusted to us in the person of the people's assessors. We have somehow gotten used to exclaiming and sighing over trial by jury. Now "over there," that's right! Now "then," that's it, of course! Especially if we see a good film. Or read a newspaper article in which that same aforementioned director, who supposedly violated certain points of some sort of absurd instructions but did his job and did not pocket a ruble has been "condemned." Hundreds of indignant letters come in with the question: "How could that be? Just where is our Soviet court?

But "our Soviet court" is we, who are inexperienced in jurisprudence and do not know the subtleties of legal proceedings. There are two of us like this in court. Two against one who is experienced. Two who have absolutely equal voices with the third. Then for what and why do we put in prison an honest person whose guilt asks for nothing more than a reprimand? The whole trial takes place before the people's assessors; they are acquainted with all the materials of the case and have a right to interrogate any witness; they can ask any questions and seek clarification of any circumstances. They are full-fledged judges. In the deliberation room two honest "nonprofessional" hands are raised, and the judge announces an acquittal or a public censure for the violation of instructions, instead of 10 years for a nonexistent crime. Yet

in the "Vitebsk case," which is fairly well known now, when the real criminal could not be found and innocent people were convicted, there were 13 unjust convictions! Is it possible that none of the people's assessors saw how flawed the cases against them were?

Of course, I will be told: You, the author of these lines are exhorting and reproaching, practically attacking the people itself.

Let me speak about myself. I was elected a people's assessor of the Frunzenskiy Rayon Court in Moscow, and in this capacity I took part in numerous trials. Some things from my "judicial activity" give me satisfaction to this day, and for some things I still feel ashamed. I mention the first, believe me, not in order to praise myself; I want to show from experience (and besides my own, I have no other) the power of the people's assessor, about whom people sometimes say: "What can he do? He just sits there 'like a piece of furniture.'"

At that time we were hearing the trial of a group of "currency operators," as they are called. All of their machinations were proven; in any case, no one who was serving on the court had any doubts about the evidence. And when we were locked in the consultation room, this question did not even come up for debate. We started discussing the degree of punishment. Among the gang there was one young man, a taxi driver. He had for the most part driven the operators, but he himself had also "monkeyed around": on three occasions he had changed rubles for dollars, 50 in all. In the investigation he told everything honestly, and at the trial he conducted himself sincerely. I remember, I asked him several questions and was persuaded that he had gotten into trouble by chance. And I said this in the consultation room.

"Whether by chance or not," said our professional legal specialist, "eight years, at a minimum."

"What do you mean! He shouldn't go to prison under any circumstances. Look at him: an honest young man. What do we want to do, ruin him?"

"It's the law, my friend. Here it is, article--. We must judge according to the law. So?"

I will not try to be clever; I was not completely ignorant of the law. So therefore I said that we had the right to pass something less than the minimum sentence -- in this case three years -- and consider the sentence suspended. And then something happened -- the main reason this episode is worth telling. My colleague, the very same assessor, exclaimed in all sincerity:

"Can that be possible?"

What's so terrible? A person who has been entrusted to carry out legal justice is explained his rights and duties in instructive conferences and, before the trial, is given the case to read, shown the article in the code and, most likely, reminded that he is performing a lofty mission, but he is not told the most important thing. It is approximately this: "It is good that you have familiarized yourself with the code, but you are going to judge human

beings. Personally you will soon send them to years of suffering. Look into them and inquire. Find out personally for yourself who is standing before you and why he is here. And if you retain even a shadow of a doubt regarding the least bit of evidence, do not remain silent and do not agree with any authority, so that afterwards an innocent person who has been convicted will not curse you for years and dream of you behind bars. And do not hide behind the law. It is the law that has specially sent you, a nonspecialist in law, to the court in order to express your opinion despite all regulations and authorities. If you doubt even the least little bit, give your particular opinion, and it will necessarily be considered. Even though your opinion may look ridiculous, absurd and unlawful, deliver it honestly and firmly. In the consultation room you may say anything and demand anything. But there is one thing you do not have the right to do--to be unconcerned about what is going on and merely to "obey" the presiding judge.

Such words had not been said to my colleague. Otherwise he would not have exclaimed: "Can that be possible?" We gave the taxi driver a three-year suspended sentence, instead of eight years to be served. We did not violate the law, did not do what had happened in the jury trial: "Oh, judges, I loved him; oh, judges, I killed him." And, weeping in the consultation room, the jury acquitted her.

I have already mentioned sighs, "ah, now over there." Yet, a juror in a bourgeois court has substantially fewer rights than the Soviet people's assessor. He cannot seek to clarify anything for himself during the trial--he is a person without a voice. The verdict struggles between "guilty" and "not guilty," with relatively small nuances. Having deemed the taxi driver to be guilty, the jurors could not have been merciful toward him: the professional judge would have determined the sentence.

However, I by no means want to try to prove that things are worse "over there" and better in our country. We have plenty of our own problems with legal justice. And I'm convinced that the people's assessor for whom legal brochures are published, universities of legal knowledge organized, etc. needs all this just as any citizen does: in any event, he will not become a legal specialist. But /he must be superior to just any citizen in terms of moral sense/ when he is sent for two weeks to carry out legal justice. That's what needs to be instilled in him again and again--who he is, what he is doing, and where his duty lies.

I shall not be silent about an unpleasant page in our "judicial biography." Before us at the time sat two teenagers: one from school, the other from a vocational-technical school. They had committed six apartment robberies. What had they done? They had telephoned and found that no one was home and then broken in through a window. They had taken a tape recorder, a bottle of wine, a packet of certificates, two toy cars, a tanned sheepskin coat and 300 rubles--from six apartments. They were caught right at the scene of a crime. There's no denying they were scoundrels. And they confessed deceitfully. And their character references couldn't have been worse. But to a labor colony? No, in the consultation room I categorically spoke out against isolating the two teenagers from society. "Maybe they deserve it, but they will be spoiled even worse there," was my argument. The judge stood firm and said that Moscow

was a "city of model order," that "there are directives to cleanse the city of such types," and that "apartment robberies are rising." In this argument there were words about the sanctity of the law and, "even more correct," about the force of the directives. My colleague did not support me. I stated that I would write a special opinion. We went out into the courtroom and sent the youngsters to a colony--as they deserved, and in accordance with the law.

It is possible that I was not right in the argument. Possible. But I did not change my point of view; I believed that they should not be incarcerated, although both of them were, so to speak, hardened. But all this is nonsense. I did not write my spec'al opinion--that's the main thing! Most likely, I thought at the time: "Will it do any good?" or "Maybe I'm really not right." How often we console ourselves this way in order to justify a compromise or, if you like, a deal with our conscience. It's no accident that the wise man and cynic Charles Maurice Talleyrand wittily noted: Fear the initial impulses of the heart--they may be noble.

Why have I engaged in this belated public self-flagellation? Believe me, out of purely pragmatic considerations. I will not claim that I am a naive person. But honestly, if I had been told before fulfilling my public mission that if I felt even the slightest doubt regarding the justice of the sentence--who knows, maybe I would have written a special opinion.

No, a people's assessor ought not be led by the hand. But I am convinced: what he needs is not so much legal knowledge as a sense of responsibility and an understanding of his duty.

Many opinions are expressed concerning who the investigation is supposed to be subordinate to, how to strengthen procurator's supervision, what to do in order to eliminate "telephone law," and how to put an end to any interference from outside on the court, which alone places the final period in the fate of a person who is guilty or who has been defamed. It is clear that all these measures, strengthenings and reassessments of subordination ought to be carried out--so to speak, that guarantees ought to be strengthened. But let me state my seditious idea: a way will always be found to influence a person who holds an office. Yet you will not influence a person who is bound to no one by anything. At least, it is incredibly more difficult. This is why the law has defined the makeup of the court as it has, and not otherwise.

The guarantees, I repeat, lie in your hands and mine. They are fixed in the Constitution, and it is by no means an accident, I think, that the legal justice system itself, the state, has entrusted them not to the apparatus--even the most highly qualified--but to society, to us. Judicial practice offers us all manner of violations, but in my opinion there has yet to be a case in which a person has been tried without people's assessors. And if there are two of them, then--

Now we have come to the main thing. Who are they, these two, /who have equal rights/ with the professional judge? Try to remember, reader, without telephoning public organizations, who you personally, in an open vote, sent to

decide people's fate. A leading production worker? So, "someone" who does not have a public burden? /Or a person who you are confident will lie across the rails to defend the truth?/

I have repeatedly conducted an experiment. I have asked a person who is appealing and has asked for intervention and "the revocation of an obviously unjust verdict": Who had he elected as people's assessors? I don't remember a single instance when he said: "We elected Petr Ivanovich Sidorov. Oh, if only he had been in that court." Without exaggeration, I have asked that question dozens, if not hundreds of times. Usually neither the person nor the event of the elections has been remembered at all.

Yet the mission of the people's assessor is a great service to society, truth and justice. We have forgotten these words--"service to society." Even the postrevolutionary "social burdens" have been replaced by something lighter: "honorable duties." Even the deputy in our country has become an honorable duty, as has the people's controller and the trade union activist. And then there is the people's assessor. And he, a judge, must be told over and over that he is being assigned to serious service for the people, and that whether cases of the conviction of innocent people occur in our country depends on him personally. And he must be asked: Is he ready for such an exploit?

Do not, reader, take these words as journalistic emotional rhetoric. Better, recall how we elect those to whom we entrust the struggle for justice in the courtroom. Why hide it? We usually elect them at the end of a trade union or other meeting; the candidacies are "worked up" by a triangle; no one discusses them intelligently--"we know, brother, get it over with." And then, when the misfortune of injustice occurs, we do not even remember that people we have elected have sanctioned this misfortune by their indifference or, simply, an inability to stand up against evil that stems from their ignorance of their public function.

We are talking a lot about restructuring nowadays, about the fact that we are learning to live in conditions of democracy, and that everyone--from worker to minister--is responsible for things. And what stormy events are taking place in the economy. Not everything is going as it ought to be? As we would like? But nonetheless, something is being done.

And here it seems that democratization and restructuring in the whole vast sphere of life connected with legal justice consist in the fact that people have started to be thrown into prison regardless of their rank and people have started to write scathingly, casting aside former prohibitions. Yes, that is openness. It is beneficial in and of itself, it is a healing sword. And it gladdens all of us. But how is it happening that one newspaper has just finished exposing bias on the part of an investigator, when another is castigating an unjust judge, and tomorrow a fifth is repeating what a fourth wrote a week ago?

But where is our representative who is endowed with full rights in legal justice--the people's assessor elected by us in an open meeting by an open vote? What's the matter, was he utterly blind?

And why haven't we asked him about this--how did you condemn an innocent person, if all the charges were put together in such a hasty, haphazard fashion? Yet we, even when castigating an unjust verdict never say: such and such people's assessors condemned such and such people to unjust suffering.

/The signature of people's assessors, incidentally, stands under every verdict./

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SOCIAL ISSUES

STATE PROSECUTOR'S ROLE IN JUDICIAL PROCESS DISCUSSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 87 p 3

[Interview with V. Demin, procurator and state counselor of justice, third class, conducted by Yu. Feofanov, a journalist, under the rubric "Legal Dialogues": "The State Prosecutor"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Two of our "dialogues" have concerned judicial defense. According to reader's responses, the position of the lawyer in a trial, or at least some aspects of it, have evoked arguments. But the position of the state prosecutor is not unambiguous, either. Today the journalist Yu. Feofanov discusses certain specific features of the procurator's role in judicial proceedings with the procurator V. Demin, state counselor of justice, third class.

[Feofanov] The procurator acts, as it were, in three different roles in court. In the first place, he represents the state principle, as follows from his title in the trial; in the second place, he is a member of his own corporation where, as is known, strict subordination "along vertical lines" is in effect; and finally, he is a person before whose eyes the court investigation develops, an investigation which often represents, as they say, a "life drama." Following the aforementioned "lawyers' dialogues" some readers were perplexed: how can it be, defending a scoundrel? And what's more, not to reveal the "secret of a crime"? But the procurator Valentin Grigoryevich, has his own clashes. He must "suddenly" abandon charges and even insist on the exoneration of the accused. But he's a prosecutor! Nonetheless this probably isn't easy--after becoming convinced of the groundlessness of charges that may have been confirmed by your superior, to go "against the current."

[Demin] The fact that the procurator is called the state prosecutor in court only emphasizes the especially responsible nature of his duties. In court the evidence gathered by the investigative agencies undergoes a test for soundness. The accused and their defenders, as a rule, produce various arguments against the charges. They must not simply be rejected. Both the charges and these arguments must be carefully checked out and deemed either substantiated or false. You say that sometimes it is necessary to go against decisions that have been made by your colleagues. Yes, that happens, as it does, incidentally, in any other work. Is it hard? Of course. However,

should you defend, contrary to your conviction and contrary to the law and the duty of your office, some position merely because it's the conviction of your colleagues? Most likely, only people with certain "life principles," or to put it bluntly, only an unprincipled person, could undertake to do this. I think you will agree that they have never defined the character of the procurator's office.

No superior executive has the right to require a procurator to take an accusatory position or to defend conclusions not confirmed in the course of the trial. Thus, strict subordination "along vertical lines" you mentioned cannot be grounds for an unobjective position. I can say that frequently after a judicial investigation both my colleagues and I have had to acknowledge the charges to be unsupported in some part or another. Believe me, you don't feel any negative emotions over this. You have frequently attended trials and should know how many "episodes" of charges the state prosecutor has asked to be withdrawn, although the charges as a whole have been confirmed.

I well remember the first instance in which I asked that a person be released from custody. It happened in Vladimir, where I was working as assistant city procurator. A young man was in the dock. He was charged with malicious hooliganism. Everything had seemingly been proved. And he himself did not deny it: he had staged a riot at the housing administration office, broken the telephone and an ink well, and torn a poster. I was interrogating the defendant. He had already been in a camp twice. The last time he got out and, so to speak, decided to "take hold." He got married. However, they had nowhere to live. She, too, was "homeless." At the insistence of the militia, the people at the housing administration office promised to give him something. They promised, all right, but no matter how many times my defendant visited the office, it was all in vain: as soon as a room was freed it would be given to someone else. And this happened 12 times! Finally he was told: the next one will absolutely be yours. He came to the office in response to a call, feeling happy--after all, they had promised. And he was told: "You see, it's like this--." And his nerves couldn't take it, and ink wells, paper and telephones went flying in all directions. A riot! Malicious hooliganism. What was I to do? There was one thing in the indictment and the same thing, but absolutely different, in the defendant's words. I asked in the courtroom that the defendant be released from custody. The court--I remember, Irina Aleksandrovna Gorbunova was presiding--agreed with me. Believe me, I cite this case by no means in order to praise myself, although my superiors were not in ecstasy. I wanted to stress one thing: in his capacity as a state prosecutor, the procurator is not a "prosecutor no matter what," but a representative of the law. After all, besides that, at my insistence charges were brought against those bureaucrats from the housing administration office. They had clearly provoked the crime.

[Feofanov] Nonetheless, it seems to me that the withdrawal of charges is more a theory. I understand you, Valentin Grigoryevich, you chose (or remembered) an appropriate fact. It persuades me that you personally acted in a principled fashion. But I have repeatedly heard an obtuse defense of hopeless points in an indictment. Can it be that this is more characteristic?

[Demin] You see practically the sole criterion of principle on the part of a prosecutor to lie in the withdrawal of charges. But there can only be one such criterion: to what extent does the prosecutor's position conform to justice and the law. I repeat, if procurators uphold charges instead of withdrawing them in court, that is by no means evidence either of a bias in favor of prosecution, or of corporate loyalty. Bias in favor of prosecution is pure subjectivism and a dangerous deviation from the norm. This deviation has a serious psychological basis. One cannot help but recall A. I. Gertsen, who wrote that the acquittal of a defendant is a personal insult to the prosecutor: it means that he was unable either to prove guilt or to understand innocence. I don't hide the fact that such a thing happens. And the problem is not only one of psychology. A defense of the "honor of the uniform" also sometimes occurs. Alas, we are too optimistic in assigning the departmental defense of the "honor of the uniform" only to the category of "isolated cases." The absence of openness exacerbated the situation. The lessons of truth that were discussed at the party congress and the firm course aimed at the moral purity of society, which manifests itself, among other places, in the resolute cleansing of the law-enforcement agencies, are already producing palpable results.

[Feofanov] I'm glad that you so sharply condemn the mistakes of the recent past. But let's return to the state prosecutor's rostrum. Imagine that a trial is under way--the evidence is not confirmed; the charges one after another are placed in doubt; the defendant or a witness changes his testimony: the investigation failed to clear something up. From every indication, an acquittal ought to be delivered for the failure to prove guilt. But the case is sent for additional investigation to the prosecutor's office, which quietly drops it. A great deal is being said about this nowadays, reproaching the court. But has the prosecutor performed his role? Did he tell the court that, yes, the charges were not proved, and therefore, it should acquit the citizen against whom an accusation was wrongly brought because of omissions in the investigation?

[Demin] Nonetheless, it is wrong to judge the act of sending of a case for additional investigation only as unwillingness on the part of the court to deliver an acquittal. It happens much more often in a trial that some sort of new circumstances turn up that require careful checking out. Generalized data indicate that most such cases are sent back to the court and by no means dropped. Frequently new facts are uncovered in court. Therefore, to regard additional investigation merely as an unwillingness to acquit is not correct. But I don't hide the fact that cases such as the ones you speak about do occur.

[Feofanov] As far as I know, frequently so-called "economic cases" are sent for additional investigation. Sometimes they involve a lot of complexities. So here is a defendant before you. As state prosecutor you see in him a criminal, for the evidence gathered by the investigation is weighty. But personally he impresses you in some way. Maybe it's only by virtue of the fact that he has resolutely burned all his bridges and confessed in a genuinely sincere fashion. And let's suppose you think: prison will hardly add anything to his correction. Let's suppose that the crime is a serious one and it would be unjust to leave him without punishment, for serious damage has

been caused to the state. But the person did it genuinely out of business considerations. Incidentally, lately the press has written and continues to write a good deal about economic crimes in which there are violations of law but no personal benefit. What in such cases should the position of the state prosecutor be? He can't act like a programmed machine--there's a human being before him.

[Demin] And who claimed, and when, that the procurator in any case absolutely must insist on the harshest punishment, on deprivation of freedom? You just singled out one aspect of economic crimes--the atsense of personal gain. But you'll agree that this problem acquires an entirely different resonance if you compare other facets of such a crime, as well. Not long ago an essay titled "Petitioners and Benefactors" was published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It told how a certain engineer gave a bribe in order to "acquire" a pump, for which he was sentenced to deprivation of freedom. The engineer himself responded to the essay: he repented entirely, but he insisted that "without violating the law it would have been impossible for me to get the pump." It is impossible not to feel sorry for the convicted man in human terms. But, parasitically taking advantage of our difficulties, bribe-takers are supported by precisely those who give them bribes! If such employees continue to try to solve production problems with the help of bribes, the procurator will have no other recourse but to insist on punishment, no matter what the journalists write about this matter.

[Feofanov] But you contradict yourself Valentin Grigoryevich. I also remember the essay in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA very well, and what is more--the words you just spoke about the case in Vladimir. After all, to all intents and purposes, you freed the rioter from punishment solely because his actions had been provoked by the bureaucrats in the housing administration office. But wasn't the engineer, in essence, provoked to give the bribe? He was looking for the pump for business, for public business. He himself didn't make use of a single ruble. As you yourself said, that time you insisted on bringing charges against the bureaucrats. But your colleagues, whom you now defend, also should have worked everything out.

[Demin] I think we're having not a "legal" but some sort of emotional dialogue. We will never put an end to official malfeasance if we make the procurator close his eyes to crimes dictated by "business" motives. Incidentally, the most typical of them are report-padding, the production of defective goods, and negligence. The tremendous harm caused by them is common knowledge, but it's rare that such things are not concealed behind the interests of the collective. In a whole series of cases the violater hasn't put a kopeck in his own pocket. But will we establish order if we forgive circumvention of the law on these grounds? What I'm speaking about now is not the degree of punishment. It should always be weighed. But the state prosecutor doesn't have the right to excuse the circumvention of the law on the grounds of good or business motives.

[Feofanov] Understand me correctly. I by no means want to slur over the danger of official malfeasance, violations of financial prohibitions, etc. Yes, these actions cause great damage and disorganize the economy. Moreover, they are rarely unselfish. But it's equally rare that they are committed only

by those who are put on trial. And the state prosecutors, I have heard, speak loud words toward those who have connived at that same report-padding and, to all intents and purposes, concealed defrauding of the state. But these speeches are often heard only in the courtroom. And the patrons of those who are convicted get off with a critical remark or, in extreme cases, a reprimand. Only the slightly frightened patron, feeling a sense of impunity, will continue to encourage abuses. It seems to me that the state prosecutor is not always consistent in uncovering the ultimate sources of economic crime.

[Demin] Of course, you're right. From every case, as Lenin himself said, it is necessary to draw lessons of public morality and practical policy. Yes, those who have connived at or instigated abuses frequently remain on the sidelines. Is this the fault of the state prosecutor? Of course, if he has limited himself to words alone. But if you're talking about the causes of crime, be so good as to carry the matter through to the end. Alas, our efforts frequently do not receive interested support. On the other hand, violators turn out to have influential protectors who try to force their opinion on representatives of the law. It is no accident that the CPSU Central Committee has called attention to the impermissibility of such interference. I myself have encountered such cases more than once, and even in the most distorted forms. But, I think, some people have hastened to turn the generally indisputable thesis concerning cases of pressure on investigators, procurators and judges into an absolute and to declare it practically the main cause of judicial errors. That, of course, is a very convenient position: after all these causes are immediately transferred outside, and it turns out that, for example, the law-enforcement agencies themselves, including the judicial agencies, are seemingly not to blame for their own mistakes. Yet it's sufficient to take a look in the BYULLETEM VERKHOVNOGO SUDA SSSR [Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Court] and the legal journals, and it will immediately become clear that the overwhelming number of errors are the result of low legal standards and violations of procedural norms.

[Feofanov] It remains for me to thank you for your self-criticism and candor. And I would like, in conclusion, to discuss a question that you may consider impolite. We have talked about the procurator's duty before the law and about his personal attitude toward what is happening in court. But aren't there sometimes sharp divergences between these two principles, at least "within the depths of the heart"? A procurator I know--a person of whose decency I have no doubt--once said regarding a defendant who had been acquitted for lack of sufficient proof: "As far as the law is concerned, he's not guilty, but he's a swindler all the same." Such a viewpoint, even an intensely personal one, cannot be the viewpoint of a procurator, otherwise all talk about the presumption of innocence and the constitutional rights of the defendant are worth nothing. I won't say that this distorted "morality" is heard in official speeches of state prosecutors--I haven't heard it. Yet in "private" conversations--

[Demin] Excuse me, but the question really is from the area that is called self-exploration. After studying a case I, as a human being, can have any opinion about the personality of the defendant. I feel discord in my heart when I withdraw a charge that I cannot prove. But as a procurator I am

required to keep all doubts to myself. I have a right to draw conclusions regarding guilt only when guilt has been proved. All my decisions and actions, including my words, should be subordinated to this requirement of the law. And even in a private conversation the statement that you cite is impermissible for a procurator. If guilt has not been proved, that means innocence. Everything else is the way to a bias toward prosecution and, in the final analysis, to arbitrary rule.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

JOURNAL DISCUSSES GOALS OF 5-YEAR PLAN FOR LEGISLATION

Moscow KHOZYAYSTVO I PRAVO No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 5 Jan 87) pp 10-15

[Article by A. Pigolkin, department head, VNIISZ [All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Soviet Legislation], USSR Minyust [Ministry of Justice], doctor of legal sciences, and I. Kazmin, senior scientific associate, VNIISZ, doctor of legal sciences: "New Plan for Legislative-Bill Operations in the USSR"]

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on 28 August 1986 approved the 1986-1990 plan for preparing USSR legislative bills, decrees of the USSR Government, and proposals for improving USSR legislation (1). Encompassing the entire set of the basic branches of Soviet all-union legislation, the plan stipulates the preparation during the present five-year plan of several dozen drafts of legislative and governmental acts, and proposals for regulating the most vitally important questions pertaining to our country's life. The plan is based on decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and serves as one of the important means of implementing them. It stipulates the development, within compressed periods of time, of many legislative bills, the necessity of adopting which was mentioned at the 27th CPSU Congress and in other directive materials. The plan is also linked with tasks of the country's economic and social development in 1986-1990 and is aimed at providing legislative support for resolving them. These include primarily restructuring economic methods and the administration of production; the acceleration of scientific-technical progress; the acceleration of the protection and efficient use of natural resources; etc.

The direct tie that the plan has with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the directive materials for the next five-year plan makes it possible to coordinate its content more closely with the political, economic, and social questions of the present-day period. This serves as an important factor for increasing the practical significance and effectiveness of legislation and for reflecting in it the practical needs of development. But one should not preclude the possibility or the need to continue to improve the practice of preparing such plans (for example, in directions for more even distribution of planned measures among the individual years of the five-year plans).

The principle of the planned nature of the operations to draft legislation, which is substantiated by legal science, has been actively used in our country

for approximately ten years and has demonstrated its value. It makes the process of improving legislation more purposeful and more organized, promotes a precise definition of the chief directions to be taken in that work, and makes it possible to achieve a better distribution of the efforts of the agencies that are creating the legislation and to make their work load more even. As has been demonstrated by practical life, thanks to planning, there has been a sharp reduction in the periods of time required to prepare major drafts and there has been an improvement in overseeing their deadlines and the quality of their elaboration. There has been an increase in the public's attention to the development of legislation in general and to the preparation of specific drafts in particular, an increase in the openness in this work, and an increase in the active role played by legal science in improving the legislation.

A peculiarity of the approved plan is the fact that it stipulates the elaboration both of specific drafts of legislative and governmental acts, and proposals to improve individual sections of all-union legislation with an indication of preparation deadlines, as well as the ministries and departments participating in that work.

This form of long-term planning is an effective means for developing legislation for the foreseeable future. It makes it possible, without binding the initiative of the executors, to carry out preliminarily an attentive study of the question; and, on the basis of the broad use of scientific methods, to formulate the proposals concerning the need for legislative changes, the enactment of specific acts, and their publication in a new edition, or the inclusion of appropriate amendments in the acts that are in effect.

For the five-year plan, the existence of assignments in the form of proposals to improve legislation in a specific form of regulation is all the more necessary. It is rather difficult to formulate for the entire five-year period the precise names of future acts, and, in addition, during that rather prolonged period of time, life itself suggests new topics and directions in the work of creating legislation. The inclusion in the plan of proposals for improving legislation will guarantee a considerably broader field for scientific research and the theoretical substantiation of the concepts being presented.

Approximately 80 percent of the plan assignments pertain to the first two years of the five-year plan. In order to exert the most effective influence upon the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the new legislative decisions must also be prepared rather quickly. Naturally, this does not remove responsibility for the high quality of the drafts and proposals being prepared.

The plan contains a total of 38 assignments, but actually the number of measures being planned is larger, since, in a number of instances, one numeral stipulates the elaboration of several drafts or proposals that are close to one another in subject matter.

In conformity with the plan assignments in which there is a designation of the specific names of the drafts, there are supposed to be prepared 10 USSR laws,

one ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and 12 decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers. In most of the legislative acts one sees the clear manifestation of a tendency that is completely natural for socialist society -- the tendency toward the intensification of the role of law, which has the greatest legal force, in the overall system of normative acts of the Soviet state, and an increase in the percentage of legislative regulation as compared with governmental and departmental.

With respect to a number of drafts it has not been stipulated whether it is proposed to confirm them by law, ukase, or governmental decree. That will be ascertained later on, in the process of their preparation or during their consideration by agencies responsible for creating legislation. But in looking over the various levels of legal competence available, it can already be assumed which of them will most probably be confirmed by a law (ukase), and which by governmental decrees. However, even here it is possible, in individual instances, that the rank of certain acts will be elevated as compared with established policy.

The content of the planned measures is distributed among eight sections. With a consideration of the general spirit of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Article 9 of the USSR Constitution, the first section of the plan -- "Legislation Dealing With Questions of the Further Development of Socialist Democracy, Socialist Self-Government, and the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens" -- stipulates important measures of a political and social nature. In particular, it will be necessary to elaborate a USSR law governing the procedure of nationwide discussion and voting on important questions in the country's life, as well as the discussion by the public of draft versions of decisions by local soviets. This section, in development of Article 5 of the USSR Constitution, will consolidate the basic forms of expression of the sovereign will of the people, and the execution of its state authority by that people.

The tasks assigned by the 27th CPSU Congress for accelerating and restructuring predetermine the qualitatively new level of work to be performed by the mass media to guarantee openness, to increase public participation, and to develop criticism and self-criticism. In this regard it is planned to prepare a USSR law governing the press and information.

This section also formulates the assignments for developing the drafts of normative acts concerning an increase in the role of worker and employee meetings, and the expansion of a series of questions with respect to which decisions of the labor collectives are final; and concerning the creation, at the enterprise level, of labor-collective councils and the gradual expansion of the elective nature of individual categories of administrative workers at enterprises. These acts will supplement the ones already in existence and the recently adopted legislation concerning expansion of the rights of labor collectives, and will deepen even more the democratic principles in the sphere of labor and production. In this same fashion one can observe the elaboration of the drafts being planned for normative acts governing the expansion of a set of questions that can be resolved by state agencies only with the

participation of, or the preliminary consent of, the public organizations, as well as granting those organizations the right, in a number of instances, to suspend the execution of administrative decisions.

A measure that has been called upon to play an important role among the other measures to develop socialist democracy is the submission, in 1987, to the legislation-creating agencies of a draft version of the USSR Law governing the procedure for bringing to court complaints against improper actions taken by officials who are infringing on the rights of a citizen. The need for enacting this Law was mentioned at the party's 27th Congress. The courts are already carrying out important functions to protect the citizens' rights, especially in the sphere of legislative relations involving labor. The planned act has been called upon to improve that activity even more, including the area of legislative relations pertaining to administrative actions, where the legal protection of rights that have been granted is, for the time being, less developed. At the same time the enactment of this Law will become an important means of preventing and eliminating manifestations of bureaucratic methods and malfeasance that are still encountered.

Representatives of the broad public and workers have repeatedly recommended the improvement of legislation concerning the opportunity that has been guaranteed by our Constitution to engage in individual labor activity. Those recommendations have also been taken into consideration in the plan section that was mentioned. A USSR Law governing individual labor activity will promote the intensification of the labor participation of the public, the introduction of additional labor resources into socially beneficial production, and the increase in the level of the material prosperity of the workers. At the same time the Law must also prevent possibilities of abuse in that sphere, and combat the receipt of unearned income by individual categories of citizens.

At the 27th CPSU Congress, a tremendous amount of attention was devoted to questions of restructuring the mechanism of administration of the national economy, to the improvement of economical management methods, to the expansion of independence in enterprises and associations, and to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. That is why special sections of the plan have been devoted to the further improvement of legislation in the sphere of the national economy and constitute approximately 60 percent of the Plan.

One of the central places in the development of economic legislation has been assigned to the USSR Law governing the socialist enterprise (association). The task itself on this question is distinguished by a considerable amount of innovation in the plan. First, the plan has taken into consideration the recommendations of scientists, specialists, and economic managers about the need to confirm this very important act governing the socialist enterprise not by a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers (as was the situation previously), but by USSR Law. That will promote an increase in its stability and authority. Secondly, the activity of the state and other socialist enterprises (cooperative and social) will be regulated by a single act. But the chief consideration is that the new Law has been called upon to guarantee real independence, broad opportunities for initiative and entrepreneurship in the economic units, and their self-interestedness in increasing the

effectiveness of production. It is important (and this pertains not only to this draft) to guarantee a reliable and effective mechanism of economic methods and levers that exert a positive effect upon the socialist economy. The new Law, as a comprehensive act, has been called upon to codify and improve all the rights of the enterprises -- civil-law, financial, and administrative -- and their competency in the sphere of labor and wages.

Among the other major assignments in the plan, one that stands out is the preparation of a USSR Law governing the quality of output. This also was mentioned at the 27th CPSU Congress. Recently important legal steps have already been taken in this area (2). It will be necessary to codify and, insofar as possible, to unify the existing legislation that pertains to this question, to improve it, and to guarantee a higher level of requirements, control, and responsibility in the fight for high output quality, and to intensify moral and material self-interestedness of enterprises and associations, their collectives, and all links of economic management in guaranteeing the high quality of the output.

To improve the economic mechanism, a large amount of importance is attached to the new statutes stipulated by the plan: the Overall Statute Governing USSR Ministries; the Overall Statute Governing USSR State Committees; and the Statute Governing Interbranch Production and Industrial-Trade Associations in Manufacturing and Selling Light-Industry Commodities. Legislative acts that have been called upon to promote actively the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and, in particular, to improve the introduction of the latest achievements into production are the planned USSR Law Governing Discoveries, Inventions, and Licenses, and the Statute Governing the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

Increasing the safety-level of nuclear units and increasing their role in providing the country with inexpensive and reliable energy will be promoted by the planned USSR Law Governing Atomic Energy Engineering.

Closely related to the sections concerning the improvement of the economic mechanism and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress are measures that have been isolated into independent sections, which deal with the development of legislation governing capital construction, transportation, and communication. Essentially speaking, we are dealing here also with improving the economic mechanism and economic relations, but now it is as applicable to specialized subdivisions of the national economy.

In conformity with decisions of the party's 27th Congress concerning the intensification of environmental protection and better use of natural resources, Section VI stipulates the elaboration of new legislative acts that are aimed at improving the ecological situation.

Acts which are of great importance are those that pertain to the improvement of labor relations of workers and employees. These are the normative act dealing with the question of the periodical certification of responsible workers in the apparatus of soviet and public organizations, and administrative workers and specialists in the national economy; the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the holding of two jobs

simultaneously; and the Statute Governing Disciplinary Responsibility in a Procedure of Subordination. They have been called upon to promote restructuring in labor relations in the spirit of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, to encourage further conscientious labor, to increase labor productivity, to reinforce labor and production discipline, and to intensify protection of citizens' labor rights. Taking into account the expected increase of elderly persons within the population structure, it is planned to enact a normative act governing further encouragement of retirees participation in social production. The conscientious labor performed by that category of the population within the limits of their capabilities is an important reserve for using labor resources.

In the USSR the union republics possess a broad legislative scope, have extensive legislation, and also construct their legislative-draft operations on a planned basis. As has been demonstrated by practical life, the all-union and republic plans for legislative-draft operations are based on general principles. This increases the compatibility of those plans and improves opportunities for a reciprocal exchange of experience both between all-union and republic agencies, and between the individual union republics. However, commonality in the planning principles is by no means an indication of the identical nature of the plans themselves. They differ considerably from one another and from the USSR plan chiefly with regard to the quantity and content of the assignments being planned. These differences are also derived from the sovereignty of the union republics, the differences in the scope of the legislative-creating agencies as compared with the all-union ones, and the local peculiarities. In addition, certain questions in some republics have already been systematized, whereas in others they have not been. There are differences that evolve from natural and other peculiarities (for example, in agricultural, water, mining, and forestry legislation). This must be taken into consideration when preparing the plans for legislative-draft operations in the union republics.

A practice that deserves support is the practice of those ministries, state committees, and departments which prepare their plans for improving normative acts in the corresponding branch on the basis of an all-union (republic) plan. They usually include: 1) participation in the fulfillment of the appropriate measures in the all-union (republic) plan, if that participation is stipulated; 2) work on drafts and other normative principles which the particular ministry considers to be necessary for submission to the government outside the plan; 3) work on drafts of their own normative acts, their systematization, or the removal of obsolete principles from them.

The legal force of the five-year all-union and republic plans is a derivative of the fact that they are approved by central state agencies. They are mandatory for the apparatus of the central legislation-creating agencies, and for all the ministries, state committees, and departments to which the preparation of the drafts has been assigned. But their mandatory nature extended only to preliminary operations. The decision to accept or not to accept a draft (or recommendation) that has been prepared in the planned procedure is made by the appropriate constitutional agency, and, in that decision, that agency is not linked with the plan (3). The action of the plan with respect to a specific draft (recommendations) ends with the fact of the

elaboration of the draft (recommendations) and its submission to the competent legislation-creating agency. At the same time the plans are prepared carefully and in a well-substantiated manner. Therefore the drafts stipulated by them are usually pertinent and timely, correspond to the needs of practice, and are usually accepted. If, as a result of a change in the circumstances, the preparation of a planned draft become undesirable or impossible, the agencies that have approved the plan make a decision concerning the removal of the particular draft from it.

This type of legal force of plans for the preparation of legislation would seem to be completely desirable. It does not hamper the rights to take legislative initiative, or the competency of the constitutional legislative agencies, or the initiative of any agency, organization, or individual. These plans pertain to the preparation of acts that are the most important ones for improving the legislation and they do not preclude current legislative-preparatory work by ministries, departments, or other agencies and organizations either on instructions from superior agencies or on their own initiative.

As was already noted, in the all-union plan the overwhelming majority of the measures have been planned for the first two years of the five-year plan. It would seem that, when preparing the republic plans, the distribution of the work load to be performed by the legislative-preparatory agencies should be made, to the extent possible, more even in the individual years.

Many items in the all-union plan cannot have counterparts in the republic plans because of the difference in the authority with regard to the creation of legislation. This opens opportunities for the republics to present more broadly in their plans the means to systematize republic-level legislation, including its codification and consolidation on the basis of regular collections of the legislation in effect and the law codes of the union republics. In our opinion, it is also possible to plan very important measures for systematizing legislation (for example, for the renewing of the codes). It would be desirable to formulate in a more specific manner the measures in the plan.

Recommendations for improving the legislation (unlike the drafts) should be stipulated in the plan only when it is necessary to systematize a particular sphere of relations, but it is unclear as to the form in which this should be done: by the enactment of one or several new acts, individual changes and amendments to the existing legislation, or the cancellation of existing norms, etc. Implementation of these plan items can be expressed, in our opinion, in the submission of specific drafts or the scientific concept of the future act or a report memorandum concerning the desirability of making changes in the legislation.

The substantiated nature of the measures being planned is the chief condition for the effectiveness and stability of the plans. For the time being, the optimal level in this regard has not been achieved. Adjustments to the plans for operations involving legislative bills have sometimes been extremely broad in the republics. The planned measure must correspond to the needs of the republic, must fall within its competency, and must encompass a sufficient

number of the questions requiring resolution and the normative material that is to be systematized. From these positions it is necessary to conduct a careful check of all the departmental proposals for the plan: it sometimes turns out that a question has already been resolved by union or republic legislation, does not fall within the competency of the republic, sufficient legislative material for it does not exist, etc.

Before planning an act that is analogous to an all-union one, it is necessary to check to see whether its enactment is realistic, or whether, after the promulgation of an all-union act, there will continue to be questions that are of importance to the republic. Deviation from this rule is the chief cause of the subsequent adjustments of the republic plans. In dubious instances, instead of a specific draft, it is possible to plan the preparation of recommendations with regard to the particular question.

It sometimes happens that the republics fail for a long time to accept acts which, according to other acts, should already have been promulgated. It is desirable to conduct a careful accounting of these instructions and to use them when preparing the plans for operations involving legislative bills. Experience that deserves attention is that which was accumulated by those republics which indicate in their plans the assignment in accordance with which the draft is being planned.

Sometimes the republics do not include in the plans important and major drafts which obviously need to be promulgated. Or, conversely, by error the plans include small-scale acts or several acts dealing with similar subject matter. In these instances it is beneficial to discuss the question of the possibility of combining them with one another or with a more large-scale act.

As a whole, the acceptance and implementation of the 1986-1990 plan for the preparation of USSR legislative acts, decrees of the USSR Government, and recommendations for improving USSR legislation, as well as corresponding plans of the union republics, will actively promote the further improvement of legislation and fulfillment of decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 37, 1986, Article 782.
2. See: CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree, dated 12 May 1986, entitled "Ways to Achieve a Fundamental Improvement in the Quality of Output" (SP SSSR, No 24, 1986, Article 139).
3. See: Samoshchenko, I. S., "The Planning of Legislation in the USSR," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 3, 1983, p 6.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

MOSCOW PSYCHIATRISTS ACCEPT BRIBES FOR FALSE DIAGNOSES

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Jan, 1 Feb 87

[Article by V. Andriyanov (Moscow): "Criminal Diagnosis"]

[31 Jan 87 p 6]

[Text] 1. The Nervous Depression Syndrome

The title for this section was suggested by Illness History No 5420. The diagnosis was made in the Central Moscow Oblast Clinical Psychiatric Hospital (TsMOKPB) for Vladimir Nikolayevich Kuznetsov. The doctors, who are well-known specialists in their field, found in him a "nervous depression syndrome with exaggerated ideas of harm and a hypochondriacal condition." "Exaggerated ideas," as the professionals explain, are judgments that appear because of actual circumstances.

The actual circumstances were these. Kuznetsov, working as deputy director of the central base of Mosmebeltorg and then as director of Univermag No 3 of the Bykovskoye Settlement Consumers' Society of the Ramenskiy Rayon Consumers' Union in Moscow Oblast, had taken bribes and abused his official position. Having learned that a criminal suit had been brought against him, he fled. He found his refuge in the oblast psychiatric hospital. Here on Ulitsa Vosmogo Marta, not far from the capital Dinamo Stadium, he was arrested. But it turned out that the patient had neither delirious fantasies nor obsessions nor compulsions. If, of course, one does not count his compulsion for money.

Vladimir Nikolayevich, previously a humble provincial fabric cutter, had always been delirious about money. It was too crowded for him in his shop in Penza. He went to Moscow. I do not know of anybody else who made himself as at home in the capital as easily as he did. He, a graduate of the Evening Sewing Tekhnikum, was hired as an engineer in Automotive Enterprise No 3 of the GUVD of a Moscow gorispolkom, he became a senior engineer, and his family of three soon moved into a three-room apartment. His dazzling career included fictional divorces, false references, a merchant's accommodations in a dacha, and new cars almost every year. The easy money got him everything.

On 21 October 1981 the newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA published a feuilleton about the wheeler-dealer entitled "Psychic From Udelnaya." Kuznetsov turned to his

friends for help. Through the long chain he came to a doctor of medical sciences, a senior scientific association of the Moscow Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry, G. Zairov.

Why did he turn to medicine for help, and to this particular area? In trade and other circles, among people who are afraid of investigations or trials, there is the rumor that for money (to be sure, a great deal of it) one can temporarily become mentally ill or irresponsible. And this will almost certainly release one from criminal liability.

Garri Kayumovich Zairov had a certain reputation--both professional and moral. He was known as an experienced specialist and a person "on the take." At some time at the dawn of his beclouded youth he set a goal for himself:

"I want two things out of life: 1) to treat patients without taking either gifts or money for it; 2) to read what I want to and to write myself. This requires rupees, and therefore it is necessary to be a doctor of medical sciences."

He became a doctor. But he still did not have very many "rupees." He took up the slack with bribes.

The director of the department store went from Zairov to the head physician of the oblast psychiatric hospital, I. Popov with a letter which contained a request to conduct "in-patient treatment in the division for neurosis for the patient Kuznetsov, Vladimir Nikolayevich."

Kuznetsov received one more reference, although with the help of these same friends, from the USSR Ministry of Public Health to the Institute of Cardiology imeni Myasnikov. The chief of the administration for the introduction of new medications and medical technology, E. Babayan, now the former chief, scribbled his signature on a paper with the letterhead of the Ministry of Health: "I earnestly request that you make an exception and give an order to accept Comrade Kuznetsov, V. N. for an inpatient examination and, if necessary, conduct a course of treatment."

The chief of the administration did not know Kuznetsov and had not even heard of him until that minute. But he could not help but know that patients from all over the Soviet Union spend years waiting for their turn to enter the Institute of Cardiology.

What right has he to make an exception? Why should he be put ahead of people who are waiting for help? Because it was requested by Taras Nikolayevich Dudko, candidate of medical sciences, senior scientific associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni Serbskiy, Scholarly Secretary of the Council of Public Inspectors for Fighting Against Alcoholism Under the USSR Ministry of Health. Public work gave the activist the right to get in to see the chief of the administration any time he wanted to.

The enthusiast hand-carried the written reference to the vestibule where Kuznetsov and Parshin, an old acquaintance of theirs, were waiting.

Vladimir Ivanovich Parshin is an on-board mechanic of the MI-8 helicopter and a correspondence student of the jurisprudence faculty of Leningrad University. He was hoping for a legal career and was very close to beginning it in the Moscow Transportation Procurator's office. He liked to show off in front of his friends: "I am going to be the procurator...." Not long before his arrest communists of the Myachkov Combined Aviation Detachment accepted Parshin as a candidate for membership in the CPSU. They put in a good word for him and thought that he would justify their confidence....

"He did not enjoy any authority in the collective. He was morally unstable. He did not participate actively in the public life of the detachment...." Do you think that this pertains to somebody else? No, it is about this same person, Parshin, a candidate for the ranks of the Communist Party. It is from a description signed by the helicopter commander Yu. Agapov, the commander of the flight detachment A. Koshman, the secretary of the party bureau A. Kochetkov, and the chairman of the trade union committee, V. Kovalev.

Another one of the group, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Dudko, candidate of medical sciences, junior scientific associate of the division of anesthesiology and resuscitation of the Oncological Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences was the brother of Taras Dudko. Their mother was the sister of Aleksandr Petrovich Dovzhenko, the deputy director and a person who is a real communist and upholder of the law.

I would like to return to Dovzhenko's diaries, his notebooks, his thoughts about time and the country, about his native Ukraine, the destiny of the people. "Write only the truth. Do not change it for any reason.... Understand it in a high sense and bear it in your heart"--this is what Dovzhenko demanded and this is the way he lived, and this is the way his beloved hero communists were too, an embodiment of truth, party conscience and courage. And how bitter and alarming it is to see the immorality that is being associated with Dovzhenko's good name. "I especially want to emphasize," the youngest of the brothers, Taras Nikolayevich wrote in his autobiography, "that my mother is the blood sister of that classicist of Soviet and world movie art, A. P. Dovzhenko. A. P. Dovzhenko's world view played one of the main roles in the formation of the communist ideological conviction in all members of our family." And his hand did not shake as he wrote these lines. The ministry paper that had been bought opened for Kuznetsov the doors to one of the most authoritative cardiological clinics in the country. But someone had to stay outside. Outside the clinic and, perhaps, outside of life.

Kuznetsov, on whom an inquiry had already been started, was listened to and advised by the most prominent specialists. When it became clear that his heart was working like a good motor, he went to the oblast psychiatric hospital. Ten days in the cardiological center and more than 4 months in the psychiatric hospital. I think the court should have made Kuznetsov and his protectors pay for the treatment.

"You get what you pay for in therapy"--that is what they say about our medicine and our public health. People should feel it in their pocket how

much the state has to pay for free medical service for all of us. Yesterday I telephoned the Institute of Cardiology and asked how much it costs to spend one day in treatment in their clinic.

"Fourteen rubles and 50 kopecks," the head bookkeeper, T. Popova, answered. Let us multiply this by 10 days in this hospital and 100 in the oblast hospital....

In the oblast hospital an experimental clinical examination was conducted on Vladimir Nikolayevich. The results were written down in the Illness History No 5420:

"There is no clearly formulated idea of the surrounding social situation," "The patient's activity and thinking are undirected and distorted."

I can just imagine how Kuznetsov scoffed at these "absurd" conclusions and the smooth formulations of the psychiatrists. No, he, Vladimir Nikolayevich, could see his surrounding situation as clearly as he could see his own accounts and also, just as purposefully as in the atelier, in the police automotive enterprise and in the department store, he calculated his actions. All he had to do was sit and wait, even if it is in the "nuthouse."

So far everything was going as it was supposed to. The physician N. Kuklina examined the patient: "He is tense, he remains alone, he does not strive for contact."

True, it was on these days that the "patient" was leaving the hospital, gathering his strength at will, and making plans for the future. But only his closest friends knew about this. For the rest of the people the director of the department store was a lost person. The head of the 9th division of the oblast psychiatric hospital, Candidate of Medical Sciences Petr Emmanuilovich Rabinovich, wrote this in his conclusion: "Regarding his social and labor adaptation, the prognosis is not favorable for the near future." Kuznetsov, covered with references, was taken to the VTEK, and from there he left...an invalid of the second group.

Kuznetsov sat under the hospital roof of the psychiatric hospital until 3 March 1982. Until he was arrested.

According to the decree of the investigation, Kuznetsov was given an inpatient forensic psychiatric expert evaluation in the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni Serbskiy. I quote from Document No 2417:

"...The commission has reached the conclusion that Kuznetsov, V. N., is not suffering from psychological illness and did not suffer from it previously. At the present time his psychological condition cannot keep him from undergoing investigation and judgment. Since Kuznetsov, V. N., is not suffering from a psychological illness, the conclusion of the VTEK regarding Kuznetsov, V. N., conducted at the Central Moscow Oblast Clinical Psychiatric Hospital, should be considered invalid."

The psychic from Udelnaya went before the court and received 12 years in prison for his crimes. The newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA discussed this in its notes, "When the "i" Is Dotted." Yes, in the case of the "psychic" the i was dotted. But his cohorts continued their criminal activity. It was still necessary to find out who wrote the Patient History No 5420, and who took the criminal from the court. To say that the search for answers to these questions was long and difficult is to say nothing. It was practically the first time a case was investigated in which psychiatrists had concealed criminals. The hospital and the experts had a solid defense. But then one name appeared, and then another.... Kuznetsov thought about his other crimes. His wife found the courage to discuss those who urged her to give a large bribe for a deliberately false conclusion concerning her husband's psychiatric condition. It gradually became clear that Kuznetsov's story was not at all an exception, and there opened up an entire system of saving criminals from criminal liability in psychiatric hospitals. It was decided to open up a number of past cases that had already been written into the archives when everything had ended with the conclusion of the forensic psychiatric expert evaluation and then the court: We will not object.... All this large amount of difficult work was entrusted by the Moscow procurator to a special investigatory group. It was headed by an investigator for especially important cases for the city procurator's office, Viktor Ivanovich Malyukin.

Along with other materials, at his request, in the archive they looked up the case of Dvoryanchikov, a murderer who committed suicide. In this day this story made a big stir in Moscow. A stomatology student who had previously been a dental technician, a nice person who would take both students and teachers for rides in his car, one day out in plain sight killed two people and seriously wounded another. The result of long inquiries and expert evaluations: criminally irresponsible. Dvoryanchikov was sent to the psychiatric hospital for compulsory treatment.

If you leaf through the pages of the criminal case and read the wordy documents you are increasingly surprised at how, literally before your eyes, the tone and evaluations become less harsh, how the portrait of the murderer changes under the pen of the physicians. Only a year has passed and he is already "sorry for what he has done.... He regrets that he cannot complete the Stomatological Institute, he watches television and reads. He makes positive social statements. In the future he will no longer need to be in a special type of psychiatric hospital.

And Dvoryanchikov will be transferred to a hospital of the general type. He has "been treated" and in the meantime has straightened out his affairs: he has evicted from his apartment the residents who had moved in there, organized repair, and received from the state automotive inspection of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon in the capital a coupon for preventive maintenance. And in culmination, leaving Hospital No 5 on the pretext of a "funeral of his relatives," solemnly registered his marriage. One must have strong nerves and common sense in order to manage all this even under the most normal conditions. But imagine how it would be if you were in a psychiatric hospital and had to take care of repair and deal with the automotive inspection station. It would be necessary to have good connections....

In Hospital No 5 Dvoryanchikov is being examined "to determine the correctness of further application of compulsory measures of a medical nature." They note that his mood is consistent and stable. He has greeted his wife warmly during their regular visits. As before, he has been critical of his illegal actions of the past. The patient was consulted by Dr of Medical Sciences T. Pechernikov and Dr of Medical Sciences V. Tselembeyev. It was recommended that they petition the court to halt compulsory treatment. The judicial board for criminal affairs of the Moscow City Court rejected three petitions. The fourth was granted.

Having returned home 3 years later Dvoryanchikov again took up his trade. Instead of his declared "positive social attitudes," he did not work anywhere and drank. A couple of months later the city was shaken by a tragedy--along the shore of the Moscow River adolescents found bags containing dismembered corpses. The investigation established the names of the two young women who had been killed, both mothers, and the name of the murderer--Dvoryanchikov.

He was arrested again and sent for inpatient forensic psychiatric evaluation to the Scientific Research Institute imeni Serbskiy. The expert evaluation declared Dvoryanchikov to be "responsible for the murders." Moreover, in their conclusion the experts noted that during the "period when Dvoryanchikov was committing socially dangerous actions in 1972 he was not suffering from a psychological disease and was not experiencing any temporary pathological disorder of psychological activity.

At that point something happened to give him faith in his salvation. "He was not threatened by the situation," wrote the physicians who had observed him. He followed all the instructions in the investigation with certain stipulations, explaining the reason for one measure or another. When visiting the diagnostic laboratories he felt free and easy, flirted with the young laboratory assistants, and joked a lot."

He was counting on somebody even now. He asked the procurator "to take care of the accessories for his GAZ-24 car as well as the automobile himself," he was concerned about the "headlights, the foglights, the imported seat covers which were Finnish and were red leather with zippers, the red rugs on the floor, and the case containing his dental instruments." he hoped that the instruments could still be used. Possibly. During those days the relative of one of the murdered women wrote to the CPSU Central Committee: "We know that we will never see our daughters again, but in order to make sure that this murderer does not commit these terrible crimes again, he should never again walk on our sacred ground. This time Dvoryanchikov should not avoid his deserved punishment with the help of physicians."

Having learned of the results of the expert evaluation, he imposed his own sentence--he wove a noose out of black and white threads and hung himself in his cell.

Before his death Dvoryanchikov filled out an entire notebook with writing. Much that his contained in these notes should probably be evaluated critically, some of it should be eliminated, and some of it should be thought about. For instance, the lines about the "wheeler-dealers in white smocks."

"They are respected," writes Dvoryanchikov, "but for them the article concerning responsibility is an empty phrase."

He had in mind Article 181 of the RSFSR Criminal Code--concerning responsibility for deliberately false expert conclusions. The experts know this by heart.

Because of Dvoryanchikov's death, his case was closed. The procurator sent out two statements--to the chief of the Sokolnicheskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration in Moscow, concerning the irresponsible attitude of the workers of the 24th police decision concerning the performance of their duties, and to the Main Administration of Public Health of the Moscow Gorispolkom.

Now Viktor Ivanovich Malyukin is writing a new statement. The next article will be about this.

[1 Feb 87 p 3]

[Text] 2. Rules of Dishonor

Early in the morning on 28 March 1985 the Volga in which the minor bureaucrats were riding raced from the center of Moscow to Teplyystan, getting ahead of everyone else. The distance, of course, is not great, but the passenger did not think about transportation expenditures. Moreover, this time he really was in a hurry. It was impossible to change either the place of the meeting or the time of the meeting. At exactly 9, at the appointed intersection, he, Taubi, was to have been met by an unknown physician. They had never seen each other before this rendezvous. Taubi only knew that through the long chain to "first aid" they had conveyed the features by which he could be recognized. He was clothed in gray trousers, a jacket, a brown leather coat, and he was wearing nothing on his head.

The trip had been preceded by a whole number of events. I shall discuss the most important of them.

At the beginning of March the head technologist of one of the Andizhan wineries, who had been drafted into the army and sent to spend his term in the Moscow area, turned up in Moscow and was staying with his friend in the capital, an engineer of the Gorggridromost Trust, Yasha Vybornov.

"Being called into the army disrupts my plans," the guest from Uzbekistan sighed.

His host promised to help. And after a couple of days he took him to the senior scientific associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni Serbskiy, T. Dudko, whom we already know. Dudko, in turn, went to Zairov, whom we just met. We need help "in discharging from the Soviet Army the son of my good friend from Uzbekistan; he will pay 3,000 rubles for this." From Zairov the chain stretched even further, to the 31st Moscow City Hospital. The chief of the neurology division (he is dead and therefore we shall not give his name) agreed "to place the youth in his division but, naturally, not free of charge."

On 27 March Taubi drew 6,000 rubles out of his savings account--Vybornov had asked him to loan 1,000, and 5,000 was the bribe for hospitalization. On that same day he transferred the money to Vybornov, and he sent it to Dudko.

At the appointed hour a woman in a white smock went up to the young man in the leather coat who had tripped at the intersection and asked him what had happened.

"I slipped and fell," he answered using a phrase from a popular film. And, after thinking, he added: "My head aches."

This time "First Aid" outdid itself. At 10:20 the call was registered at Substation No 41, and at 10:20 it was transferred to the brigade. An entry appeared in the journal: "The reason for the call--a headache. Primary diagnosis: brain concussion. Cause of accident--he fell.... Sushchevich took him to the 31st city hospital. He was complaining of head pain and nausea."

Frightening the passersby, "First Aid" flew to the 31st Hospital.

At approximately that time an emissary from sunny Uzbekistan, the director of the market, was visiting Moscow. He both gave and took bribes and, because of this, "he became nervous, irritable and had pain in his head."

The guest needed first aid.

The savior to whom they took the fellow countryman was the same Zairov. "Having listened to me, the doctor said that I would have to pay him 5,000 rubles. I agreed...." To be sure, the director had only 4,000 with him. Zairov, after taking my money, took out a typewritten text which said how a person should conduct himself in order to be declared mentally ill."

The same instructions about a schizophrenic delirium concerning a "state deputy mystery," "a male voice in his head," and so forth were given to Taubi. One page ended with a note from the authors: "All this is said slowly, hesitatingly, thoughtfully and in a sad voice. Do not look the physician in the eyes."

The second set of instructions gave detailed advice of how to behave in the division--during the first 5 days and the first 2 weeks.... After that, "their mood should improve. They should begin to talk about being discharged: 'Doctor, everything has stopped--no more hypnosis or persecutors. I had a nervous breakdown, but now I feel healthy and I am willing and able to work...."

This kind of service was so good for self-taught people like the bookkeeper Berlaga, who in his day hid from the purges in the insane asylum, as did other heroes of the "golden calf"! Several people independently studied the sources and pored over the German journal JAHRBUCH FUR PSYCHOANALITIK UND PSYCHOPATOLOGIK. But in the book Professor Titanushkin returned from a business trip and ordered all the malingerers released from the hospital:

including the vice king of India, the man-dog with his manic depressive psychosis, Kay Yulyi Tsezar, the former lawyer for I. N. Starokhamskiy.

Where is he, this strict, unbribable professor? What happened to his diploma'd reliable students? What did they do with their conscience? I asked Zairov about this: "What brought you here?" I asked in the office where two people cannot be left alone and in the building which the inmates call the prison.

From the stories told by people who knew Zairov, I envisioned him as a contradictory person who was widely educated. Devoted to his profession, he had worked as a medic, a nurse, and a doctor, and had defended a doctoral dissertation. His range of interests included poetry in the theater. But this same person would tell dirty jokes and was cynical. He loved to discuss morality and correct behavior, but, one might ask, where are the criteria for these qualities? I do not believe that he was unaware of the answer to this question when, betraying himself, he overstepped the boundaries of proper behavior, took a bribe, and then took them again and again....

"There was never enough money. They began to offer it and I began to take it, and I did not have to do anything, they came and gave it to me." He became thoughtful, smoothing out his mustache. "I have always had two main characteristics: a love of work and...."

--He did not want to name the second one, and started talking about how difficult it is to live in a "world of acquaintances," how difficult it is to work in psychiatry because there is practically no supervision of it, especially forensic psychiatry.

All this is perhaps true--the world of acquaintances, the exchange of services, and the zone of the lack of supervision. In a word, all the real circumstances in which we live, to which we adapt, or which we oppose, swimming against the current. At the beginning of his medical career he valued the "principles of general practice in which the position sacrificed everything for the sake of the help of his suffering patient." But later, he and his partner sacrificed everything for the sake of money.

The authoritative commission, when evaluating the diagnosis, made for Taubi, especially noted: "The conclusions of the commission are true under the condition of the reliability of the data presented in the medical documents." Imagine such a condition! Can there really be any doubt about something that should be unquestionable from the beginning? To accept these rules means to agree that dishonor exists ahead of time.

"I cannot conceal how disturbed I am," I was told by M. Taltse, doctor of medical sciences and secretary of the party bureau of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry. "In recent years in repeated expert evaluations I have frequently had the idea that the criminal has been prepared by psychiatrists, but I did not want to believe this. I know my colleagues in the institute--they are absolutely irreproachable people."

I share Margarita Feliksovna's faith in her comrades: 33 years of working with them give her that right. But yet T. Dudko also worked in the institute for more than a couple of days--and over the years one could have seen who was developing and who was being promoted to active work in the ministry.

The data in Taubi's medical documents were falsified.

Taubi said that in the first hospital they asked him what had happened to him. He answered according to the instructions given by Dudko. After that he was taken in a wheelchair to the neurological division and then to the rehabilitation division. Sometime around 9-12 April 1985 Dudko came to see him in the hospital. He began to ask him how he felt and Taubi complained that they had been giving him shots, and said they had to put an end to this, he wanted to get out of the deal, return everything to the way it was and he even intended to return the money. Dudko told him that he had to be patient, that there was no turning back, and everything became confused....

In the end Taubi had enough sense and character to put an end to this unworthy, dirty game, to think and then to repent from what he had done. Now he is serving in the army and serving in a worthy way, and therefore I am releasing his name. I believe that this entire story will serve as a lesson for him for his entire life. Just as it did for the Muscovite Viktor, who in the recent past was a salesman in the meat division of one of the delicatessens in the capital and is now a lathe operator.

We met him several days ago. The "golden boy"--this is what the doctors call him among themselves--returned to the occupation of his youth which he had acquired at Mosseimashn. He adroitly controlled the lathe. The shavings curled off and fell away.... Viktor turned off the machine.

"It was as though I were carrying a stone around my soul all these years," he said, "and I cannot even tell you how heavy it was, to know that you would have to be inside my skin."

And, agitated, he began to recall now, fearing responsibility for cheating the customers--he had been punished for this once!--he looked for salvation from psychiatrists in the oblast hospital, and as he was in the hospital imeni Gannushkin, one of the "patients" there, gave him "instructions" on how to pass the examination of the experts.

The experts at the Hospital imeni Kasnenko, V. Kosarev, G. Borisenko and D. Chekmarev determined that Viktor G. "suffers from chronic psychological disorder in the form of schizophrenia. Therefore, as someone who is mentally ill, G. cannot be considered responsible for criminal actions he has committed while ill. At the present time G.'s psychiatric condition indicates that he is in need of general treatment in a psychiatric hospital." Because of this so-called "formula for irresponsibility," the person I was interviewing was relieved of criminal liability.

But here the second document is a conclusion from the board of experts of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry imeni Serbskii: "G. is not suffering from a psychological illness, and was

not suffering from one during the period in which he was committing incriminating actions in January 1980. During that time, and also during the period of the examination, the individual did not exhibit any kind of temporary pathological disorder of psychic activity either. This makes it possible to overrule the diagnosis of G. established during that time of slight neurological schizophrenia.... He should be considered responsible for what he has done."

Upon the demand of the bribe takers who thought that this "golden boy" would not skimp, Viktor and his relatives had to gather together 8,000 rubles--the sum increased with each subsequent link in the chain. Not immediately, but eventually he and his mother and his father found within themselves the strength to tell the truth. Sincere repentance relieved them of the responsibility.

The court will determine the measure of responsibility of those who have been guilty of bribery, particularly Yu. Massover, the former chairman of the Outpatient Forensic Psychiatric Expert Commission No 6 under the Moscow Clinical Psychiatric Hospital No 1 imeni P. P. Kashchenko. But now about the moral image of this person who, as is stated in the description from the hospital, is distinguished by an active sociopolitical position and enjoys authority within the collective. Here are a couple of lines from his portrait, which was sketched by his relatives and close friends.

His wife: "My husband petitioned the court to have his mother declared incompetent. The commission at the Psychiatric Hospital imeni Kashchenko (I recall that Massover worked there.--V. A.) came to the conclusion that she was mentally ill. But as a result of repeated expert evaluations in the Institute imeni Sertsksiy she was declared healthy. The court denied our petition and her individual account was divided up...."

After that Berta Adolfsovna insisted on separating, and until the last days of her life she lived apart from her son. From another description of Massover: "He is sensitive, concerned and attentive in his relations with his mother...."

Another wife: "My daughter knows Yuriy Lvovich as her father, and I did not think she has ever known of another, main family."

Yuriy Lvovich's favorite pastimes are cards and betting on football and hockey games. The stakes are large: the house always holds 2-3,000 rubles for a game. "Socialism," he noted according to the witness of one of his co-workers, "is a large field for businessmen, since the state is allowing its own destruction, and Russia would be good without communists anyway." Do the authors of the description--Deputy Head Physician A. Shmilovich, Secretary of the Party Bureau Ye. Kosmodemyanskiy and chairman of the Trade Union Committee A. Ponomareva--considered this way of life and these values to be an active vital position? If so, it is understandable where Massover got the audacity to threaten the witnesses with punishment and why other colleagues persistently advise him to withdraw his initial evidence.

Any bribe is loathsome. And bribes in the system of forensic psychiatry and expert evaluation are not simply loathsome, they undermine the legal system, and therefore they are especially dangerous to the entire society. The court when making its final conclusion concerning the accountability and capability of an individual, as a rule, relies on the conclusions of experts. And if these conclusions are false--if they are a deliberate lie?

Expert literally means "one who knows." The knowledge of the leading people has always been highly valued. Honor and integrity are professional qualities that are just as indispensable to them as knowledge of the subject. An expert who has been found guilty of lying and has violated his oath even once, in my opinion, should be deprived forever of the right to our confidence and to his responsible profession.

I am speaking about this because in the country's clinics, institutes and Ministry of Health one encounters cases of a conciliatory attitude toward bribe takers. P. Rabinovich, the chief of the division of the Central Moscow Oblast Clinical Psychiatric Hospital, after he was found guilty of abusing his position, was given the opportunity to leave the clinic at his own request. Then they took him back: The hospital's head physician I. Popov explained this decision to the party bureau by saying that Rabinovich has business and organizational qualities.... The party committee of the USSR Ministry of Public Health had not heard anything about any violations in the system of forensic psychiatry.

"We have had only one incident," said Deputy Secretary of the Party Committee, L. Guselnikova. "The chief of the division of higher educational institutions, A. Mayorov, was found guilty of taking bribes. The party committee expelled him from the party. We conducted work for prevention, held party meetings about the moral image of the communist...."

The position of a public inspector, not to mention the scientific secretary of the Council of Public Inspectors, gives the physician and the scientific associate great authority. We already know how Dudko took advantage of this authority. But orders were sent through the ministry and they saw that nobody had approved him as scientific secretary! It was as though the former chief of the administration, E. Babayan, had done this on his own authority.

The previous council has now been reorganized. It has now been replaced by the Interdepartmental Council for Fighting Against Drunkenness and Alcoholism, Drug Abuse and Smoking. It would seem that the party committee should also pay attention to the public personnel in the ministry.

An investigator for especially important cases of the procurator's office in Moscow, V. I. Malyukin, sent a statement to the chief of the Main Administration for Public Health of the Moscow Gorispolkom, V. N. Mudrak and the chief of the Main Administration of Public Health of the Moscow Oblispolkom, V. V. Lyabin. It discussed disclosures during the process of the investigation of violations of the policy for hospitalizing citizens and their passing the VTEK as well as cases where people not suffering from any disease were in hospitals or people were given unsubstantiated diagnoses. It was suggested that strict control be established over the work of the expert

institutions and the policy for hospitalization and examination in psychiatric hospitals of people in the field of vision of legal investigatory agencies.

A brigade consisting of investigators from various services has a year of hard, selfless work behind it. I shall name them all: Viktor Malyukin, Aleksandr Yemelyanov, Vitaliy Sinyuk, Igor Gusev, Mikail Fomichev, and Igor Kozlov. I am giving their names because all of them are young. The eldest, Yemelyanov, is just barely 30. I leave them at 10 in the evening and the lights are still shining in their windows. The teapot is boiling on the windowsill again, they are tearing themselves away from their work and taking their cups to the long table which is piled with papers. They do not talk about their vocation or their duty there, professionals do not have time for this. Unless a journalist asks. And then Sasha Yemelyanov, formerly a tunnel digger of Metrostroy, says what he values in his work: "An uncompromising attitude toward falsehood and evil."

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SOCIAL ISSUES

'CONFESIONS' OF FORMER PROSTITUTE

PM201735 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Mar 87 First Edition p 4

[G. Kurov report on a former Novorossiysk prostitute's description of her past life: "The Confessions of a 'Lady of the Night'"--passages not enclosed within quotation marks are Kurov's comments]

[Text] Novorossiysk--At first she called. Then she came to the editorial office of the city newspaper and said: "I was a 'hooker.'" I will interrupt her account from time to time with comments enlarging on her story. She is 25 years old, good-looking, and she has a beautiful name. Many people in Novorossiysk know her by that name. So we agreed that we will not refer to her by that name. Some of her former associates might not forgive her candor. Ultimately, her real name does not matter. There are dozens of them, females, euphemistically referred to as "women of easy virtue" in the police records. Most of them are "hookers." But let us return to the story.

"Why did I come? I thought of writing, you know, but I was afraid the letter might get into the wrong hands. Talking is easier because I always try to tell the truth. So to my story..."

"I did well at school, especially at French. Once our teacher took us to the international club for language practice. There were real Frenchmen there! No, I was not swept off my feet, but...it did make an impression on me."

"Then I finished school, left home, went to medical college, married, gave birth to my daughter, my husband and I separated... And there I was back again in Novorossiysk with my parents and little Anyuta, but essentially I was very much alone. I do not know how to explain it, but I no longer could talk to my mother about everything... And I started to frequent the 'Parus.'"

At that time the "Parus" bar was the main haunt of "hookers," speculators in foreign currency and foreign items, and such like. Taxicabs crammed with foreign sailors would pull up ostentatiously in front of it. Only after the scandal of the MV "Tarakliya," whose entire crew was involved in smuggling, was the "Parus" closed down. The investigation revealed that "Parus" was where currency deals were concluded, "business" contacts were picked up, and so forth...

"No, at that time I was not yet a 'hooker.' To begin with I was just looking for amusement. It seems absurd now--after all I left my daughter entirely to granny, and then--brainless as I was--I cast my eye around. I met the girls. They found out that I knew something about medicine, and they started coming to me for help. And very soon I was doing the tests for them, I was familiar with the method and I was working at a laboratory at the time. You know what amazed me most? There I was giving them the terrible verdict--two in every four or five were invariably infected--and nonetheless they went back to the bar or the 'Brigantina' [name of restaurant]."

As a rule, the "hookers" resort to self-treatment, for fear of being forced to go to a clinic or facing criminal proceedings for spreading venereal disease. However, while suppressing the external symptoms of the disease, self-treatment does not make it any less dangerous.

"By and by, I too started frequenting the restaurants--the 'Brigantina' and the 'Chernomorskiy.' I already knew quite a few sailors. And, of course, I needed the money. I helped the foreign currency speculators to find clients among the foreigners. And I received a cut. A lot more than my wage in the laboratory..."

Foreign currency, drugs contraband--this is what passes through the "hookers'" hands. And sometimes also stolen goods. In any event, quite often the girl--alone or with an accomplice--completely cleans out a client. The thieves are quite confident that the sailor will not report them to the police.

"Nonetheless, I was not greedy for money, although I had plenty of it. Money... There is the odd girl who is not all that interested in money. But for most, money is the main consideration. Easy money, they think, for which they do not have to 'labor.' Or finery. But there is no friendship, nothing that could, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as honorable relations. Yaponka [a nickname: the Japanese girl] (Marina Grytten) once started a fight with me in a restaurant. She was sitting with a group of Yugoslavs. I knew one of them and went up to ask him something. Without speaking to me, Yaponka hit me. She did not want any rivals. The foreigners sat there, smoking and grinning."

Staking out "spheres of influence" with the aid of the fist is commonplace. When Bosota [a nickname: Tramp or Barefoot] (Olga Adamyan) decided to go to Odessa and try her luck there, the local girls beat her up and threw her into a fountain.

"One of the sailors once told me: 'Do you think we mean it when we talk to you about love and all that? We have our own girls at home. They are waiting for us. And you...' Even then I understood what that insulting 'and you' meant. Nonetheless, I fell for it. For what, idiot that I was? My nightmare lasted 8 months, 8 whole months. And of course, I got infected, and I treated myself... A 'protector' tried to latch onto me (you know the

kind of protector prostitutes have?), but I am on the whole an independent person, why should I share with anyone?"

"One of the girls got the following offer from one of the 'protectors': She was to pay him R70 a day. R10 for transport (he had his own car), R10 for accommodation where he would take her with her 'customer,' and R50 for his 'attentions' in general. And if she did not give him the money, he beat her up. If there were no foreigners, he would find her a dupe among our people, and together they would clean him out."

"I don't know why, but in general people kept clear of me. Once I drove two underage girls from a restaurant. I saw them sitting there chatting to foreign sailors. I walked up (I did look impressive--all made-up and in black) I put my hands on the table and said: 'How old are you, girls?' They blinked, and I went on: 'You've got 1 minute to get your ass outa here.' They were at the door before I'd finished speaking; clearly, they had learned. I too had learned..."

"I feel sorry for the underage girls. They cannot even imagine what cruel things are in store for them. The cold professionals like Yaponka, Filippinka [a nickname: the Filipino girl], Metla [a nickname: the Broom] believe in nothing but money. And you don't notice at first what emptiness is in store for you..."

"Do you know why I hate my past now? Because I have a daughter! I might have betrayed her. I was close to it. My mother guessed what was happening to me. She cursed me, she lashed out at me, and she flung the contents of my purse into the fire, money and all, But not a word to father. He only hit me once, when I was little, for some prank, and then he could not sleep, he was suffering. And mother and grandmother kept it all to themselves."

"And I was deaf to all their arguments, entreaties, and tears and finally I left home. I rented an apartment. For over a month I had no contact with my family. Not even with Anyuta..."

"Then people told me that my daughter was in the hospital and my mother was looking for me. My consent was allegedly needed for an operation. I did not believe it, I even thought it was a ruse to get me back home. But then an acquaintance came and confirmed that Anechka was in the hospital. I ran there. Grandmother was with her. I never cry myself, not even when I am in great pain. But when I heard my daughter cry behind the door--they would not let me in--I screamed: 'If anything happens to her, I...' Well, what would I do?"

"I don't know where it would have all ended but for this occurrence shaking me up, and for the man who was at my side and who believed in me... We are together now. With Anechka. She has turned 3. My husband is very attached to her. And we very much want everything to be all right. But people still

remember me. If I happen to take a taxicab with my husband, the cab drivers sometimes ask me about my 'business.' And the militia, too, treat me like an old acquaintance. And I bite my lips, worrying whether the consequences of the damned infection have deprived me of the chance to have another baby."

"Many girls in my former profession console themselves with the thought that one day they will meet Mr Right and then their lives will change. But I am convinced that my case is the exception to the rule. I know well enough the world in which my former acquaintances live. I know where those who hang out in restaurants end up. At 30 they look 40, even if they try to hide it with cosmetics. However, no makeup can disguise the marks left by illness, nervous strain, and the acute sense of loneliness and anguish."

"Loneliness! That is the terrible result of the 'dolce vita.' Even if a prostitute has children, what are they likely to learn? These women's intellect is incredibly poor, they do not read, they do not understand anything. You shudder when you think that you too might have sunk that low... I know a girl, Toma, she is 42, but looking at her you would hardly say she was a woman in full bloom. She is an old woman, afraid of daylight, she goes out to 'work' only when it is dark, wearing heavy makeup..."

Not every frivolous young girl sinks to the depths described by the former "hooker," but it would be unforgivably naive not to notice that many, far too many, thoughtlessly take this fatal step. It seems to them a simple and easy way to get what they want, an amusing and carefree way to spend their time, and a pleasant way to attract long glances...

Frightened, they block their ears at the sound of the scathing, shameless word "prostitute"... We mourn when a person dies, but for some reason we frequently do not consider moral death a tragedy.

And how many of them are there that suffer this fate?

How many girls will be enticed by the headlamps of a night taxicab, the glow of a foreign cigarette, or the bright lights of a restaurant? Like moths, mindless and enthralled they fly into the night. Their flight is short. Only as far as the nearest flame. And they fall, having barely touched it. They seem very self-confident. And they certainly have enough money to buy brand-name clothes, but if you look closer, you notice their dull, indifferent eyes--as if they were asleep, as if they had no wings.

Their wings have indeed been scorched.

People who do not lack social vision have noticed all this and could not but think about it. And many, especially law-enforcement personnel, who have, for a long time and at close quarters, been aware of this abnormal situation--prostitution, that is--which is incompatible with the good and

noble spirit of our way of life, are unanimous in their opinion: What is needed is a law to punish immorality. But can a law alone cure this trouble? What is needed is systematic education to combat this evil. Ultimately neither the heroine of today's story nor her former colleagues took to the streets because they were hungry, or homeless, or unemployed. They did it by abandoning well-provided families, walking out of secure jobs, breaking with a collective. And all this before our very eyes. And with our tacit agreement...

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REGIONAL ISSUES

DEPLORABLE CONDITIONS AT TAJIK RAYON MATERNITY FACILITY

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 25 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by N. Kozlova, under rubric, "Journalist Brings Suit": "Emergency Case"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] If I were to attempt to characterize what I saw at the maternity division of the central rayon hospital in the city of Tursunzade, all words would prove pale in comparison to what goes on there. It is frightening that in our time such a thing is possible. S. Babayeva, the chief sanitary inspector in Tursunzadevskiy Rayon, said: "There were days when I wanted to cry, looking at all that."

Right from the entryway you come to a small dark room with a black gossamer curtain across the corners. Cold air blowing in from outdoors rustles the torn oilcloth on the improvised screen, behind which stand, crowded together, old beds and beaten-up folding beds. Children are crying; someone is moaning; someone is screaming. From a rusty pipe on the ceiling water drips into a filthy cup in unison with the child's screams.

"This is called the first obstetrical division," the physicians say bitterly.

In a tiny room children lie two in a bed, which is categorically forbidden. Nearby is a tank in which the soiled linen is piled. The women were moved here recently from a building in which the division of the pathology of pregnant women had been located and which had been closed by the sanitary and epidemiological station. They were moved because of a break in the sewer pipe, which for some reason had been designed to pass across the center of the room. The break was no surprise--the sewer system had been in need of repair since time immemorial. Only last year the rayon sanitary and epidemiological station had closed that division seven times. Now on the second floor there is gynecology, which was moved from a neighboring barracks.

At one time, at the end of the 1930s, there was a residential dwelling in that adobe building, and then a wing was built onto it. In 1983 the gynecological division was located there. Last December, at the same time that the sewer pipe burst in the obstetrical division, the lavatory collapsed in the

gynecological barracks, and cracks spread across the whole building. It was only by chance that there were no victims. The building was sagging.

Officially only women with pathological pregnancies were supposed to remain in the central rayon hospital. Women with normal pregnancies were supposed to be taken to the Kolkhoz imini Zhdanov, where a therapeutic division had been closed to make room for them. But water had to be hauled in there. And it was decided to take the women to Pakhtaabad, to rayon hospital No. 2. There the pregnant women and those who had given birth were supposed to use a lavatory located dozens of meters from the hospital.

But in actuality everyone is accepted indiscriminately now at the central rayon hospital. On the day this reporter arrived 34 women were patients there. The doctors say that there are sometimes more, and when that happens the women giving birth are put on the floor.

Just in the past few days cold water was provided to the first obstetrical division. Until that time boiling water came out of the faucet. Two wobbly tables are supposed to be considered the dining room. It is hard to figure out in how many shifts the women eat. A lavatory is only a dream. The doctors lack the most basic conditions--there's one chair for all of them. From the closeness and overcrowded conditions, the air in the room seems grayish and sticky.

Recently five commissions of every conceivable rank have been there. Before their arrival the doctors would be made to move something or other and shove something or other into the corners--pathetic attempts. Who would this reassure?

The central rayon hospital was built in various years--the '30s, the '40s and the '50s, and no "cosmetic" repairs can conceal this. Back in 1977 in a report notation addressed to the chairman of the gorispolkom and the director of the sanitary and epidemiological administration of the Tajik SSR Ministry of Health, the rayon sanitary and epidemiological station noted that the maternity division of the central rayon hospital had been opened for operation without its knowledge and with unfinished work. Nonetheless, it was opened.

The grave situation in the maternity division, the only one for the whole rayon, did not develop just yesterday. Over the years the only thing that has changed is the volume of folders with orders from the sanitary inspectors. My head was spinning from the enumeration of what women had been moved and when. The maternity division had been patched up first here and then there. In one place something was to be greased, and in another something was going to crumble, so both the women and the infants were put alongside of patients of other sorts.

The gorispolkom also examined the issue of the maternity division. Reprimands were passed out, and officials were admonished and ordered. The situation was not corrected.

Of all the medical institutions in the rayon, the maternity division is penalized most. Last year, with a staff of 63 persons, 29 employees of the

maternity division, including nine executives, were penalized. Many employees of the maternity division are penalized every quarter two, three or four times. Since the beginning of the year the rayon sanitary and epidemiological station has already drawn up 11 protocols. And last 10 December the sanitary inspectors closed the maternity division once again, but by 14 January they were forced to draw up a protocol on the unauthorized opening of the pathology division.

As of today the maternity division of the central rayon hospital could be used as a textbook for training future sanitary inspectors. It is so hard to find a regulation of sanitary hygiene and preventive epidemiology that has not been violated there.

The overcrowding of mothers giving birth and children has resulted in a situation in which the area per mother's bed has been lowered by a factor of 1.7 and the area per child's bed by a factor of 2.0 beneath the norm.

In the absence of a standard laundry, linen for the mothers and the children is washed together with the linen of other patients. It arrives damp and is dried wherever it can be--outdoors, on the radiators--after which the linen is called "sterile." Despite a sum allocated by the gorispolkom, as F. Abdullayev, the deputy chief physician for the treatment unit of the hospital, said, there are not enough pillows and mattresses, baby's jackets and towels. Linoleum is needed for repairs--the only thing that could be gotten was small pieces. According to estimates, the hospital needs two tons of paint, whereas a maximum of 300 to 500 kg is all that is allocated for public health institutions in the whole rayon.

The hospital administrators place hope in the construction of a medical and sanitary unit at the aluminum plant, which was begun in 1985. No maternity division is envisaged there, but if some of the other types of patients are transferred, space could be freed for the maternity division. But if the plant continues to put capital investments to use at the same rate it has done over the past two years, the medical and sanitary unit will open its doors in approximately a quarter of a century.

The Research Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood is a sponsor and consultant for the maternity division in Tursunzade. Since the moment it was organized, i.e., November 1985, the institute has been sounding every alarm, and after every visit its staff members have written about the overcrowding and unsanitary conditions and have informed the republic Ministry of Health of this. On their planned visits they have also been to see the rayon executives. One report on such a visit contains the note: "Not a single recommendation has been acted on. They remain on paper." That's a cry of the heart.

What sense was there in the orders of N. A. Abdudzhabarov, director of the Ministry of Health's Administration for the Treatment and Preventive Care of Children and Mothers, for institute staff members to visit Tursunzade following the collapse of the gynecological division? After all, they couldn't help in any way, and the fact that the situation was extremely grave could have been learned on a regular basis by reading the papers sent to the

Ministry of Health. After examining the destruction in the gynecological division, Kh. Abdushukurova, deputy minister of health, left without even waiting for the commission's findings.

Here is a legitimate question: What next? You will agree that it is an absurdity that a young and rapidly growing (and not just since yesterday) city that has a restaurant, a bar, etc. does not have a standard maternity home. Naturally, you can't build one rapidly, but it's impossible to be patient any longer, because the situation has become aggravated to the extreme. There are buildings in the city that could be temporarily adapted for use as a maternity home. And patching things up first here and then there is no measure at all.

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